The Feminist Drama: Applying Burkeian Thought to the Rhetoric of the Women's Movement

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RUNNING HEAD: Feminist Drama

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Introduction

The word "feminism" evokes various responses. Some people may associate feminism with equal rights for women, while others conjure images of militant male-bashing 'womyn'. What does the word feminism mean? What is a feminist? What is meant by the terms, women's liberation, the feminist movement, and the women's movement. The Modern Feminist Movement: Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the USA, defines feminism as "an ideology whose basic goal is to remove the discrimination and degradation of women and to break down the male dominance of society" (Dahlerup, 1986, p.6). This text defines feminists as those individuals who accept this ideology, and the women's movement as the collective activities of feminists working to fulfill the objectives of this ideology. The women's movement "includes feminist activities . . . in women's committees in the political parties, trade unions, public institutions or other social movements" (1986, p. 6). In essence, feminism is the ideology held by feminists who participate in the activities of the women's movement.

This study will investigate the women's movement in the United States, focusing on the modern feminist movement which began in the 1960s and continues today. The efforts of the movement to change attitudes and to induce others to act will be reviewed and analyzed to discover if these efforts are achieving their intended purpose. Chapter One will consider social movements in general as phenomena, the function of rhetoric within social movements, and how rhetoric is a part of the women's movement. The theme of duality in feminist rhetoric will also be introduced. Chapter Two reviews the history of the women's movement. Chapter Three investigates modern feminism and its rhetoric, and the duality of feminist rhetoric is further explored. The effects of feminist rhetoric on the overall objectives of the women's movement will be estimated through analysis of the twofold feminist rhetoric, in Chapter Four. Chapter Five discusses the ramifications and implications of feminist rhetoric on society. Throughout these discussions, the terms feminist movement and women's movement will be used synonymously, as both terms refer to the actions of individuals supporting the feminist ideology.

Women's liberation will be the term used to describe the collective actions of all feminists. Finally the concept of the modern feminist movement will be explained in reference to the third wave of feminism which began in the 1960s, and is ongoing as a group effort directed toward achieving set objectives. Through rhetorical analysis of feminist rhetoric, the effects of twofold feminist rhetoric on the feminist movement as a whole will be delineated.

Chapter One

Women's Liberation: A Social Movement

A Social Movement of Today: Women's Liberation

The Social Movement

The label "social movement" is often attached to fads, social movement organizations, internal changes within groups, campaigns, violent revolutions, civil wars, trends, manias and panics; however, all collective phenomena are not social movements (Stewart, Smith, & Denton, 1989; Wilkinson, 1971). Chesebro reports the mass media create an illusion of a social movement by treating "relatively isolated, but similar, rhetorical situations throughout the nation . . . as a single, dynamic, and inter-related phenomenon" (1973, p. 12). In order to study a social movement, one must be able to discern what a movement is, its nature, as well as its perceptions of social needs. First, a definition of a social movement must be established. For the purpose of this study, the definition given by Stewart, Smith and Denton in Persuasion and Social Movements (1989) will be used. Their definition not only gives a conceptual idea of what constitutes a movement, it also delineates the essential characteristics of a social movement which separate it from other collective phenomena. A social movement is defined as "an organized, uninstitutionalized, and significantly large collectivity that emerges to bring about or to resist a program for change in societal norms and values, operates primarily through persuasive strategies, and encounters opposition in what becomes a moral struggle" (1989, p.17).

This definition outlines seven characteristics that can provide a basis for classifying a collective as a social movement. Some of these characteristics have been adopted by Stewart, Smith, and Denton from others' work, and have been noted accordingly. The seven characteristics of a social movement are:

1) Social movements are organized collectivities. That is, social movements must have at least minimal organization. Although social movements must have some degree of

order, they should also be flexible enough to adapt to change. Social movements may last for decades, and therefore must be amenable to the altering of set goals.

2) Social movements are uninstitutionalized collectivities. While operating (for the most part) within its boundaries, movements confront society with indictments calling for material change in conditions and practices. In other words, social movements are not part of the established order governing and changing the norms and values of a society (Wilson, 1973).

3) Social movements are encompassing enough--in geographical area, time, events, and participants--to accomplish movement objectives. Objectives must be inclusive enough in scope and crucial enough in theme to attract a large number of individuals.

4) Social movements exist principally either to suggest or to oppose changes to norms/values in society (Hahn and Gonchar, 1971). The change(s) that a movement proposes indicates the type of movement it is. There are three general types of movements: a) the innovative movement--which seeks "a limited replacement (reform) or a total replacement (revolutionary) of existing norms or values with new norms and values", b) the revivalistic movement--which seeks "a limited replacement (reform) or total replacement (revolutionary) of existing norms and values with ones from a venerable, idealized past", and c) the resistance movement--which "seeks to block changes in norms or values because it sees nothing wrong with the status quo" (p.9). By these classifications, movements can be better understood in terms of their originating purposes.

5) Social movements are moral in tone. A movement's leaders and members should believe that they have the ability to distinguish between right and wrong in the larger social sense; and as a result, are under "'moral obligation' to raise the consciousness of 'the people'" (p.11).

6) Social movements counter opposition from an established order which perceives the movement as threat, and its leaders begins to develop strategies to confront the

movement's efforts. The opposition's counter effort creates a moral battle in which one side's relative success is the other's relative loss (Cathcart, 1972).

7) Social movements' persuasive efforts comprise their core. O'Keefe (1990) defines persuasive efforts as attempts by one party to influence the attitudes of another, either to reinforce, modify or change existing attitudes. Ultimately, a social movement proposes or opposes change through persuasive efforts.

The Life Cycle of Social Movements

The duration of the persuasive efforts of social movements is not uniform. Stewart, Smith, and Denton state that "a portrayal of each state of the life cycle of 'typical' social movements can help us to understand the ever-changing persuasive requirements, problems, and functions of social movements and the . . . rhetorical forces" (p. 22). They also define five stages in the life cycle of a social movement, that do not necessarily occur in chronological order or during a given period of time. A social movement may move back and forth between the different stages, and may not feature a particular stage at all. Additionally, the complete cycle may take months, years, and very likely decades (Wilkinson, 1971; Wilson, 1973). Stage one in the life cycle of a social movement is genesis. This period of inception is when individuals begin to give attention to "imperfections" they notice in existing institutions, and they bring these imperfections to public attention (Stewart, et. al., p.22-23). Usually, a triggering event (such as a controversial book, speech, or law) leads a movement into stage two of the life cycle, social unrest. The triggering event creates a "host of aggressor rhetoricians" that help to initiate growth within the movement (Griffin, 1952, p.186). As a result, the membership in the movement begins to increase, and the existing institutions, including the media, take notice of the movement and its objectives. During this stage, the movement's internal organizations unite to form a manifesto. From it, the movement's ideology arises. In this stage, the movement's primary persuasive efforts are focused on raising the consciousness of the institutional leaders, hoping that the social chain-of-command will provide correction for perceived wrongs.

During the third phase, enthusiastic mobilization, members of the movement begin, plan, and utilize persuasive efforts such as, "mass meetings, marches, demonstrations, and symbolic actions", in order to sustain members' interest in the movement (Stewart, et. al., p.26). Organizations oriented toward specific concerns and activities are developed within the movement. These special interest groups begin to control the movement as institutional resistance is straightforwardly confronted. From these special interest groups within a movement, leaders with contrasting ideological preferences and persuasive strategies may fracture the movement. "The movement often achieves some notable goals and victories during the enthusiastic mobilization stage, but the earlier visions of sweeping and meaningful changes remain unfulfilled" (p.28). When the movement can no longer satisfy the needs of members and the mass media for ever-more impressive events and successful achievements; and when what was once considered revolutionary is now routine, the movement enters into the fourth stage, the critical stage of maintenance. During maintenance, the movement shrinks or faces a long stalemate. The movement seeks issues on which to focus further efforts. The stage of maintenance is pivotal for the movement, as it is a transition period; it is here that projected charting of the movement's course is determined. Within the stage of maintenance, the movement may respond to another triggering event which will renew enthusiastic mobilization or recede the movement into the fifth stage of termination. It is during the termination stage that the movement comes to an end, successful/unsuccessful in its attempts to achieve set objectives; however, "In a social movement. . . . failure to achieve specific goals will be common, no matter how able and creative the advocates" (K. Campbell, 1989, p.2).

Women's Liberation - The Women's Movement

K. Campbell contends that women's liberation does not constitute a movement: "No clearly defined program or set of policies unifies the small, frequently transitory groups that compose it [women's liberation]" (1973, p.74). She asserts that women's liberation is merely a "'state of mind'" (p.74). Contrary to her opinion, women's liberation does in fact comprise a

movement. The 'state of mind' that K. Campbell refers to is simply a part of what makes up the feminist movement. This can be made apparent by applying the definition of a social movement, as stated earlier, to women's liberation . First, women's liberation is an organized collectivity. This is evidenced by social movement organizations such as NOW (the National Organization for Women) and the League of Women Voters. Although all the social movement organizations of women's liberation are not part of a larger organization, enough communality exists to make women's liberation an organized collectivity. The tactics, tone, and leadership within each of the social movement organizations may vary, yet all of them share a desire for women to have social, political, economic, sexual, and legal rights (Johnston, 1992). According to Stewart, Smith, and Denton (1989), if women's liberation was more structured it could not be classified as a social movement because "minimal organization is both necessity and reality for most social movements" (p. 6). Highly structured collectives are reluctant to change, and adaptability to change is a necessary part of a social movement.

Women's liberation is an organized collectivity that is not a part of the established order of mostly white men. Therefore most women have traditionally been considered outsiders. In past years, the number of women who have found their way into the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government has grown, yet they are still a small minority of the overall membership of these groups (Sapiro, 1986). As a result of the lack of comparative female representation in the political arena, few women have direct influence on the policy making relevant to their rights. In essence, women's liberation is an uninstitutionalized collectivity.

Women's liberation is large in scope. There are many different organizations within the larger context championing distinct approaches to improving women's status in society. Even though not all women care to be a part of this movement advocating change, many women and some men are involved in one way or another in trying to ameliorate life for women (Hewlett, 1986). A few examples of the diverse organizations whose memberships advocate change to improve the quality of life for women are: the National Organization for Women (membership 280,000), the League of Women Voters (110,000), the National Council of Negro Women

(40,000), Priests for Equality (2,300), the National Women's Political Caucus (75,000), and the 9 to 5 National Association of Working Women (13,000) (Daniels and Schwartz (Eds.), 1993). All of these individuals advocate specific changes in regard to the manner in which women are treated in society.

Individuals part of women's liberation believe that the changes they are supporting are just, fair, and moral. According to Johnston (1992), women are working to assert themselves in a male dominated society in order to secure their own rights as citizens. In advocating changes in society, feminists propose material change; any change they advocate is regarded by them as the only "right" thing to do. The essential change that women are working toward is to be able to enjoy the same freedoms men have. Women want to have choices pertaining to their work, families, and sexuality (Hewlett, 1986). Feminists believe that women should be assured these choices, because they hold it is immoral to treat any group as second class citizens by denying them equal rights.

There is formidable opposition to women's liberation. Many opponents of the changes advocated by feminists believe that women's liberation is destroying, or at least diluting, the concept of family values (Hewlett, 1986; Stewart, et. al., 1989). STOP ERA was one of many groups opposing the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) This group organized an effective counter-campaign to ERA, which was supported by many opponents to women's liberation. This opposition was strong enough to prevent the passage of the ERA to the federal constitution. Additionally, during the Reagan presidential administration, the issue of family values was generated to impede further gains by women's liberation. Reagan appointed women opposed to a liberation agenda into key government positions in order to stifle proposed feminist reforms (Sapiro, 1986). The conservatism typifying the Reagan era continued into President Bush's term of office, during which Vice-President Quayle's manner of defending traditional family values caused feminists to respond with fervor.

In order for a social movement to continue to exist over a period of time, experiencing at least minimal success, it must engage in effective persuasive efforts (Stewart, el. al., 1989).

Women's liberation has had some degree of success in changing the attitudes of leaders of the traditional institutional framework of society. It can even be held that women's liberation has been able to somewhat modify particular norms and values of society. For instance, "the feminist movement was enormously successful in changing perceptions about gender and in changing people's lives"; in 1971, only forty percent of women considered themselves feminists, while in 1986, Gallop reported that 56 percent of women classified themselves as feminist. More importantly, 71 percent of women polled in 1986 believed that the movement improved their lives (Johnston, 1992, p. 281). This marked change in attitudes suggests that women's liberation has had emphatic impact. After applying the definition of a social movement to women's liberation (defined earlier as the collective actions of feminists), one can conclude that these efforts do constitute a movement.

The feminist movement first reached the enthusiastic mobilization stage of the social movement life cycle during the 1840s to 1860s. This stage was first renewed in the 1900s to 1920s, and was followed by a second renewal in the 1960s (Dahlerup, 1986; Stewart et. al., 1989). This most recent period of enthusiastic mobilization is known as the modern feminist movement (Dahlerup, 1986). The adaptability of the women's movement is evidenced in its repeated ability to resurrect itself from out of maintenance, thereby avoiding termination. Each time the women's movement has mobilized, it has focused on specific issues. The original mobilization phase of the feminist movement began in 1848, at the Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York (Flexner, 1959). It was during this convention that the Declaration of Sentiments, which rejected the concept of "divine ordained subornation" of women to men, was produced (Johnston, 1992, p. 29). The second mobilization of feminism focused on the demand for women's suffrage. New issues included greater access to education, more work experience, and the elimination of sexual discrimination. In the 1960s the third and most recent mobilization of the women's movement resulted from women being denied the same societal respect and opportunities enjoyed by men,. Women began to strive for overt power in society, and as a result, reinvigorated the movement (Johnston, 1992). Essentially, the feminist movement is a

social movement concentrating on issues involving women, which mobilizes strength to conduct issue oriented campaigns, from which it profits additional vigor. The women's movement can be classified as an innovative type of social movement relying on persuasive efforts to achieve its desired effects, that women's rights will not only be acknowledged but protected.

Rhetoric and the Women's Movement

Defining Rhetoric

"Where there is persuasion, there is rhetoric" (Burke, 1962, p. 696). Movements are fundamentally rhetorical in nature (Cathcart, 1972), and persuasive efforts are at their core (Stewart, et. al., 1989); therefore, to gain an understanding of the women's movements, one must first understand that rhetoric is inherent in persuasive efforts.

"No one really persuades someone else". This statement from Strong and Cook's textbook, Persuasion: Strategies for Speakers (1990, p.9), implies that persuasion has an interactive dimension. That is, a speaker depends on the audience to persuade itself. When a speaker presents a persuasive message, it is simply a proposal which can be accepted, rejected, or modified by the audience. This indicates that the realization of persuasion is not assured; rather, it is likely dependent on how the audience responds to the persuasive message/messages. Since one characteristic of social movements is the presence of persuasive efforts at the core of activities, it is important to understand these efforts and their effects. Persuasive efforts are often associated with rhetoric since rhetorical strategies are employed by a rhetor in order to achieve persuasive effects; however, various derogatory, rather than positive, attributes are associated with this classical concept (K. Campbell, 1982). Rhetoric, in a scholastic and traditional sense, is the study of available means by which attempts can be made to influence others. In order to find a more functional definition of rhetoric, an investigation into the development of the art of rhetoric must be pursued. First, the origin of rhetoric needs to be discussed, thereby establishing a base for understanding how perspectives of rhetoric have changed through time. After a

developed consideration of classical rhetorical theory , the epistemological approach to rhetorical theory will be examined. Finally, after examining the contemporary perspectives of rhetorical theory, a definition of rhetoric will be selected for use in this study.

"If any one group of people could be said to have invented rhetoric, it would be the ancient Greeks" (Golden, Berquist, and Coleman, 1989, p. 57). Of the Greeks, Plato and Aristotle stand out as being progenitors of rhetorical theory. Plato, the father of Western philosophy, relied on a dialectic approach for explaining rhetoric. He believed there were three types of rhetoric: false rhetoric, unsuccessful rhetoric, and true rhetoric. False rhetoric he defined as "'the art of persuading an ignorant multitude about justice or injustice of a matter, without imparting any real instruction'" (1989, p. 18). Unsuccessful rhetoric typified the efforts of speakers who failed to produce the desired persuasive effects on their audience. Finally, the implementation of true rhetoric enables the speaker to assure that the will of the gods prevails by conveying truth and morality.

Aristotle was a student at Plato's school; however, his discussion of rhetoric differed in that it was not a treatise, but a categorization of the various properties of rhetoric (S. Foss, K. Foss, and Trapp, 1991). Aristotle defined rhetoric as "'the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion'" (p. 4). Aristotle believed that rhetoric had a four fold function which systematically provides a methodology by which a speaker can 1) uphold truth, justice, and counter opposing views, 2) teach in a manner suitable to the popular audience, 3) analyze both sides of a question, and 4) capably and ethically defend himself (Golden, et. al., 1989). Ultimately, Aristotle asserted that rhetoric is a practical art, grounded in the rationale, which when insightfully implemented, will result in effective persuasion that is moral in nature, to result.

Quintilian was a Roman rhetorician and lawyer, who believed that rhetoric is "'concerned with the treatment of what is just and honorable'" by communicative speakers (Golden, et. al., 1989, p.59). He believed that in order for an orator to have successful persuasive efforts, he must have the appropriate training, and he must believe in the truth of his own words (S. Foss, et. al.,

1991). The definitions of rhetoric during the classical period, as reflected in Quintilian's writings, were based on morality, dependent on education, and focused primarily on the spoken word.

The epistemologists, concerned with explicating elaborate systems of rhetorical theory, also focused on the spoken word and its usage. They were especially interested in providing instruction as to what constitutes valid forms of proof in arguments, so that they would achieve the desired effects among listeners. G. Campbell and Whately are two distinct representatives of the epistemological or psychological-philosophical elucidation of rhetoric (Golden, et. al., 1989). G. Campbell asserted that rhetoric is a "'dynamic developing process'" (p. 186), that is used "'to enlighten the understanding, to please the imagination, to move the passions, or to influence will'" (p. 188). Whately carried G. Campbell's perspective on rhetoric to a logical completion. Fifty-two years after G. Campbell introduced his philosophy of rhetoric, Whately took G. Campbell's concepts and created a narrower focus in argumentation. Whately contended that rhetoric was primarily concerned with the study of argumentation, with inventing and arranging arguments (Golden, et. al., 1989). The episistemological perspective of rhetoric marked a transitional period in the study of rhetorical theory. The rhetoricians of this school had not rejected the perspectives stemming from the classical tradition, but instead they began to move toward a modern rhetorical theory that related rhetoric "to the basic nature of man" (Golden, et. al., 1989, p. 160).

Modern rhetorical theory relates rhetoric to the human being, making it a part of the human experience. Rhetoric has now claimed a broader range in which to function; communication genres other than oratory are embodied within rhetoric. One of the most respected modern rhetorical theorists is Burke (S. Foss, et. al., 1991), who "by common consent . . . ranks as the foremost rhetorician in the twentieth century" (Golden, et. al., 1989, p. 318). His approach to rhetoric features a discussion of motives, audience analysis, and attitudes. Drawing from the classical perspective, Burke contends that the study of rhetoric centers primarily on the concept of audience analysis as it relates to persuasion: will the audience accept or reject the

persuasive effort?. (Griffin, 1969). He expands the scope of rhetoric, asserting that persuasive effects can be achieved not only by an orator, but can also evolve from an event, a literary work, a campaign, or social movement (Burke, 1962). According to Burke, the basic function of rhetoric is to use words "'to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents'" (Golden, et. al., 1989, p. 321). For the purposes of this study Burke's definition will be used: "the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents" (Burke, 1962, p. 41)

The Function of Rhetoric in Social Movements

"Social movements must transform perceptions of history and society, prescribe courses of action, mobilize forces for action, and sustain the movement" (Stewart, et. al., 1989, p. 13). A movement begins not when an issue or problem is generally recognized, but when a spokesperson speaks out, bringing the issue to the public. Once the issue registers in the public consciousness, its growth and maintenance are dependent on speakers' competence in effectively employing rhetorical strategies. "Movements are essentially rhetorical in nature" (Cathcart, 1972, p.86); therefore, a movement's inception, growth, mobilization and maintenance are contingent on the leaders' abilities to target and persuade its audience. Fundamentally, the rhetoric of a movement is the movement. Those who speak on behalf of the movement's purpose try to influence others to accept the movement's principles, to continue their support for the movement's ideology, and/or to act keeping with the goals of the movement (p. 86). If these rhetorical attempts fail, then the movement will not experience growth, effect mobilization or maintenance, and may even dissipate (Hahn and Gonchar, 1971; Stewart, et. al., 1989).

The Function of Rhetoric in the Women's Movement

Women's liberation is a movement, and therefore it is essentially rhetorical in nature. The women's movement employs rhetorical efforts in order to revise perceptions of history, transform perceptions of society, prescribe courses of action, mobilize for action, and sustain the

movement. In analyzing how the women's movement relies on persuasive efforts, the possibility of a duality in feminist rhetoric will be investigated.

The persuasive efforts of the feminist movement are not uniform in character; all rhetorical efforts championed by the women's movement do not incorporate the same rhetorical strategies (Stewart, et. al., 1989). Some feminist groups use more radical or confrontational strategies that are analogous with conflict, and even violence, in order to achieve their more revolutionary goals. Other feminist groups utilize more moderate forms of persuasive efforts; they employ progressive strategies that are more managerial than revolutionary. One example would be lobbying Congress to pass bills supporting the feminist cause and thereby invoking changes to the existing system. Therefore, it is not necessary for the women's movement to reflect consistency among rhetorical strategies, according to Stewart, Smith and Denton (1989), as well as Wilson (1973), social movements may contain both radical and moderate elements. In fact, these various facets of the feminist movement influence one another and appeal to different constituencies (Johnston, 1992). The branches of the women's movement display a spectrum of organizational emphases, ranging from the most radical (such as WITCH - Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell) to the very moderate (such as the League of Women Voters) (Dahlerup, 1986). To analyze the contrasting persuasive strategies embodied in the feminist movement, they need to be classified so that the basis for proceeding from a more complete perspective will be possible.

One inclusive method of classification juxtaposes moderate with radical feminism (Dahlerup, 1986; Hewlett, 1986; Johnston, 1992; Stewart, et. al., 1989). The fundamental distinction between these two elements of the feminist movement is based on points of view regarding the "sex/gender system" of society (Sommers, 1989, p. B2). Sommers (1989) labeled these two diverging elements of the feminist movement to be equity feminism (moderate feminism) and gender feminism (radical feminism). Equity feminism is based on the ideology of assuring women's access to political, social, legal, and economic power through the exercising of their rights. Gender feminism is founded in the ideology of a genderless culture, in which social

arrangements designating particular roles for women, such as the nuclear family and maternal responsibility for child rearing, are rejected (Sommers, 1989). Further discussion of this noteworthy duality in rhetorical strategies employed by the feminist movement will concentrate on how this twofold rhetoric affects the course of attempts to achieve the objectives for which the movement was built; however, a historical review of the women's movement and its rhetoric will be completed before analysis begins.

Chapter Two

A Historical Perspective of the Women's Movement

Addressing the Lack of a Complete Rhetorical History

Women's Silence

> Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection./ But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence./ For Adam was first formed, then Eve./ And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression./ Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety (Paul, 1976, p. 183: 2, 11-15).

Throughout most of history, women have been denied the right to speak. Leading writers, reflected their cultures, such as Homer, Aristotle, and those in the Holy Scriptures have reinforced this prohibition. In Homer's Odyssey, Telemachus tells his mother, Penelope, "'Public speech shall be men's concern'" (K. Campbell, 1989, p. 1). Aristotle in the Politics, "approvingly quotes the words, 'Silence is a woman's glory', and the epistles of Paul enjoin women to keep silent" (p.1). The tradition of keeping women silenced was not abandoned when the colonies gained their independence from Great Britain: efforts were made from the beginning of this nation to silence women (K. Campbell, 1989; Oakley, 1981). According to K. Campbell, there were three fundamental rationales by which society justified fashioning silence as the social norm for women. These rationales focused on issues of religion, biology, and law (K. Campbell 1993; 1989). By considering these rationales, it will become apparent that women rhetors had to face unique obstacles, forcing them to adapt their rhetorical style to the exigencies of their situation. As a result of this continuing adaptation, a complete rhetorical history of women's involvement in public discourse does not exist. Likewise, a complete rhetorical history of the women's movements does not exist.

As probably the most guiding rationale, the Church interpreted the Scriptures in such a manner so as to declare that women had no right to teach, advise, or preach. Consequently, if women took part in public discourse they were not considered "'true women'", because discourse was classified as a "masculine activity" (K. Campbell, 1989, p. 12). In like manner, the knowledge, or lack thereof, of biology and physiology was utilized to bar women from speaking. Because of women's generally smaller stature, they were considered naturally submissive and domestic. This view was strengthened by women's ability to bear children, and fashions, such as trailing, heavy skirts and whale-boned corsets, that limited motion and created shortness of breath. Ultimately, women's health was viewed as incompatible with education. "According to Harvard Medical School professor Dr. Edward Clark [in 1873], most diseases of the female were caused by displacement of blood from genital growth to the brain, making advanced education for women a threat to the nation" (K. Campbell, 1993). Finally, women were legally considered nonpersons. They had neither public or private rights. They had no judicial standing or political rights. They could not bear witness, hold or convey property, sue, or share in the guardianship of children (K. Campbell, 1993; 1989; Johnston, 1992; Oakley, 1981).

As the annals of the life of women developed in the United States, so did two distinct subcultures based on the sex/gender system. A man's nature was thought to be ambitious, amoral, competitive, and lustful; as a result, his place in the world outside the home in the public sphere. In the home he was guide, provider, and protector of his family. Women, on the other hand, were limited to the private sphere of the home. The nature of a woman was thought to be retiring, modest, nurturing, and emotional. It was believed that women were incapable of reasoning, and therefore their activities were confined to those of the home, caring for the spiritual and emotional needs of husband and family (K. Campbell, 1993; Flexner, 1959). "Rhetorical action of any sort was, as defined by gender roles, a masculine activity. Speakers ventured into the public sphere. . . . woman's domain was domestic" (K. Campbell, 1989, p. 10). Rhetorical activity and femininity were mutually exclusive. These rationales nurtured traditional concepts of women and directly linked women's oppression with the denial of their right to

speak. If women participated in public discourse, they were straightforwardly declaring they possessed attributes which made them equal to men.

Feminine Rhetoric-Not Recognized

Studies in communication tend to focus on activities that take place in the public sphere, as a result, historical documentation of rhetoric moves largely form that perspective, and does not register a comprehensive impression of society. This perspective is the perspective of the white male (Bate and Taylor, 1988; Spitzack and Carter, 1973); women's discourse is not given scholarly attention, for "Scholarly attention is focused on 'those who had most public power and whose lives were involved with laws, wars, acquisition of territory, and management of power'"; on those individuals that are or were aggressive, assertive, and active; on men (Spitzack and Carter, p. 404). According to prescribed cultural roles, men were the assertive, aggressive, active, independent gender. Women were subjective, noncompetitive, and dependent (Spitzack and Carter, 1973). In speaking publicly, women were asserting themselves; however, asserting oneself was not considered feminine, and therefore was not sanctioned as deserving scholarly attention.

Women were excluded from rhetorical documentation for two reasons. First, women were for the most part confined to a life of domesticity and were not part of the public sphere; therefore, they are not included in historical records of rhetoric (K. Campbell, 1993; Flexner, 1959; Johnston, 1992; Spitzack and Carter, 1973). Secondly, public discourse was considered masculine, women who participated in discourse were not heeded as "true women"; they adapted their public speaking style in order to speak while legitimizing their femininity. "Rhetoric is usually defined as dealing with public issues, structural analyses, and social action", yet women orators of the feminist movement focus on "acts concerned with personal exigencies and private, concrete experience, and its goal is frequently limited to particular, autonomous action by individuals" (K. Campbell, 1973). Women orators relied heavily on personal experiences, anecdotes, and other examples. They structured their speeches inductively, and invited audience

participation. For the most part, women's public discourse was unaggressive and unauthoritative. In reflecting these characteristics, feminine public discourse lacked attributes of traditional "masculine" communication acts. In making these stylistic adaptations, women relied on rhetorical practices that often are incongruous with what scholars find to be rhetorically effective (K. Campbell, 1989; Spitzack and Carter, 1973). Women's rhetoric did not concentrate on public issues (such as business or finance), but instead, on social issues (such as marriage and childrearing. This locus of women's rhetoric led it to be discounted by society and scholars as special interests insignificant to the general populace, and consequently deemed as "non-issues" (Spitzack and Carter, 1973, 490-10). Due to the topicality of most female contributions to rhetoric, it was often not preserved. The lack of complete historical documentation of the chain of female influence has made women's persuasive attempts "seem sporadic, erratic, orphaned of any tradition of its own", resulting in each wave of feminism being "'received as if it emerged from nowhere: as if each of us had lived, thought and worked without any historical past or contextual present'", as a result "'each new generation [had] to begin afresh to create its meanings, unaware of what had gone before'" (p. 408-9).

The First Two Waves of Feminism

Enthusiastic Mobilization: 1840s-1860s

Although there is not a complete chronicle of women's rhetoric, research in women's communication has increased in recent years, filling many of the historical gaps that existed. Some of this research has focused on the history and development of women's rhetoric. With the aid of this research, post analysis can be completed to understand how rhetoric was utilized by feminists in their attempts to advocate change. In exploring the history of the women's movement and the rhetoric emerging from it, basis will be provided for analysis of the rhetoric of the modern feminist movement. Historical knowledge of the movement, its rhetoric and life

cycle, may prove significant in predicting the ramifications of the persuasive efforts made by the modern feminist movement.

Stewart, Smith and Denton report that the genesis stage of the social movement life cycle may last years and even decades (1989). The genesis of the women's movement lasted decades. As early as the 1630s, women in the colonies that became the United States, were asserting their equality with men. Some men supported women in their declarations of equality, but most did not. One woman that asserted her equality was Anne Hutchinson. She arrived in Boston in 1634 and "challenged church and state on behalf of new ideas of tolerance and religious freedom; as a woman she went further, questioning, for the first time on this continent, the validity of the place assigned to her sex" (Flexner, 1959, p. 12). For her advocacy she was banished from the colony and excommunicated from the Calvinist church. In 1776, Abigail Adams asked her husband to give women rights in the Declaration of Independence, rights not afforded to women under English common law. She also predicted the organization of women into a movement when she wrote her husband:

> 'In the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bond to any laws in which we have no voice or representation' (Flexner, 1959, p. 15; Tedford, 1985, p. 41-42).

In the late 1700s, and early 1800s, other advocates, such as Judith Sargent Murry, Mary Wollstonecraft, Emma Hart Willard, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and Frances Wright, worked to alter the manner in which women were educated. These individuals believed that women should be educated the same as men. In those times, women's education was primarily concerned with teaching women how to please and be useful to men (Flexner, 1959; Oakley, 1981). During this time other women, such as the Grimke sisters, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Coffin Mott,

were advocates of ending slavery who became feminists in response to the discrimination they experienced in pursuing their initial advocacy (K. Campbell, 1989; Flexner, 1959).

Lucretia Coffin Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were two of a number of women who were part of the United States' delegation to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London during the summer of 1840. None of the women were allowed to sit as part of the convention, instead they were forced to sit in the galleries during the convention's proceedings. Eight years after their exclusion from this convention, these two women became organizers of the Woman's Rights Convention (Flexner, 1959). This convention took place on July 19, 1848, in Seneca Falls, New York. This convention moved the women's movement from its genesis into the social unrest stage of the social movement life cycle. As a result of this convention, many women realized that they were not alone in their desire for equal rights: "Beginning in 1848 it was possible for women who rebelled against the circumstances of their lives, to know that they were not alone. . . . a movement had been launched which they could either join, or ignore, that would leave its imprint on the lives of their daughters and women throughout the world" (Flexner, 1959, p. 77).

The Declaration of Sentiments was introduced to and ratified by those attending the Women's Rights Convention of 1848. In addition to discussing the violations of women's natural rights, the disabilities of married women, discriminatory religious practices against women, and the opportunities for individual development that were denied women, the Declaration of Sentiments "reflected both the patriotic, reformist spirit and the radical demands for full equality that typified the movement" (K. Campbell, 1989, p. 58). "According to this document, protesting women wanted to be treated as citizens, as persons in the sight of the law, and as individuals capable to the full range of human possibilities" (K. Campbell, 1989, p. 56). This manifesto of this nascent movement embraced the ideology on which the movement was to flourish, that "woman was man's equal" (p. 57). The institutions of society, primarily the church, began to take notice of these advocates. The church reiterated that according to religious dogma, women were to be subordinate to men, and not concern themselves with public affairs (Flexner, 1959).

Opposition from the church did not curb women's hope that the social chain-of-command would ultimately provide correction for the wrongs against women.

In the years that followed the Women's Rights Convention of 1848, women's rights conventions were held every year up to 1861, except in 1849 and 1857 (Flexner, 1959). Additionally, women's rights organizations began to appear; such as, the Working Women's Protective Union in 1848, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1874 (K. Campbell 1989; Flexner; 1959). The women's movement had entered into enthusiastic mobilization. In addition to beginning their organizational efforts, feminists began to sustain the movement through circulating pamphlets, petitioning state and national legislators, and endeavoring to enlist members of the clergy and press in their cause (Flexner, 1959). Feminists of this time period advocated women's right to speak, to be educated, to work and keep wages, to have property, to have guardianship of children, to have legal status, to have equitable marriages through protection from violent husbands, to abolish alcohol, and to have representation in government (K. Campbell, 1993; 1989; Flexner, 1959; Johnston, 1992).

Although agents of the women's movement were enthusiastic, and put much effort into their campaigns, they did not enjoy a plethora of success in their attempts to effect change because they lacked the education and social position that would ameliorate the achievement their goals (K. Campbell, 1989). With few of their aspirations reached, the enthusiasm of the movement began to wane, and the movement entered into a maintenance phase. The Civil War (1861-1865) also contributed to the advancement of the movement into the stage of maintenance (Flexner, 1959). With the men at war, women's place in society was changed, and their activist efforts were directed toward supporting the Union cause, freedom for the slaves (K. Campbell, 1989). Women worked in the Sanitary Commission, and the Woman's National Loyal League. They expected to be compensated for their efforts, in terms of rights, after the conclusion of the war (Johnston, 1992). When the war was over, the women's movement focused its efforts on universal suffrage for women; however, in 1868 the Fourteenth Amendment introduced the word 'male' into the United States Constitution implicitly denying suffrage to women. Then, the

Fifteenth Amendment explicitly limited suffrage to men (K. Campbell, 1993; 1989; Flexner, 1959). These amendments created internal conflict between conservative and radical feminists; for many women's rights advocates, disaffection for the movement resulted. Although the movement lost momentum, many of its leaders (such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton) still pursued change in the social system on behalf of women.

Revived Mobilization: 1900s-1920s

Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, feminists who had not lost their enthusiasm continued to pursue equality for women, including women's suffrage. Susan B. Anthony, and a host of others, tried to assure women's right to vote through state legislation and by an amendment to the federal constitution. On November 5, 1872, she registered and voted; as a result, she was arrested thirteen days later, and eventually tried, found guilty, and fined one hundred dollars (K. Campbell, 1989). Belva Bennett McNall Lockwood ran for the United States presidency in 1884 and 1886 on the Equal Rights party ticket (K. Campbell, 1993). In the period between 1890-1915, the movement made little progress:

> During this period the movement's original leaders died: Lucy Stone (1893), Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1902), and Susan B. Anthony (1906); there was a major transition and upheaval in leadership. The years from 1896 to 1907 were a time of anti-suffrage ascendancy: in the twelve years from 1898 to 1909, the suffragists suffered a total of 164 defeats, . . . after 1910 the tide began to change (K. Campbell 1989).

The event that lifted the feminist movement out of the maintenance stage of the social movement life cycle was Carrie Chapman Catt's succession to the presidency of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), succeeding Susan B. Anthony (Flexner, 1959; Johnston, 1992).

Under Carrie Chapman Catt's leadership, the movement became reorganized to in order to devote persuasive efforts to effect change through the legislative branch of the government. She viewed women's suffrage as a "prerequisite for improving both women's status and the

health of society...she urged women to 'rise up and refuse ever again to be slave, servant, dependent, or plaything'" (Johnston, 1992, p. 102). With the help of Reverend Dr. Anna Howard Shaw (who was president of NAWSA from 1904-1915, when Carrie Chapman Catt once again took over leadership), Carrie Chapman Catt won many people to the cause of equal suffrage for women, and the membership of the movement was again experiencing growth (K. Campbell, 1989). For the second time, the feminist movement was in the enthusiastic mobilization stage of the life cycle of social movements.

The National Consumers' League and the National Women's Trade Union League were two small organizations for women; they appeared during this time period and were lead by Florence Kelly and Margaret Dreier Robins (Johnston, 1992). These groups arose out of the lack of the ability of the NAWSA to reach outside the middle and upper classes in order to respond to the needs of working class women (Flexner, 1959; Johnston, 1992). Other more radical feminists of this time created the Congressional Union, which was later renamed the National Woman's Party (NWP). All these groups were working in one form or another to improve life for women, particularly to gain for them the right to vote. Their efforts on many different fronts eventually convinced President Woodrow Wilson to support the women's suffrage proposal; and on August 26, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote was ratified (K. Campbell, 1989; Johnston, 1992).

Gaining the right to vote was one of many goals achieved by the movement. During World War I, women assumed many of the roles men had filled before going to war (Flexner, 1959). Women were being educated in significant numbers, and even more were employed in industry. The census of 1920 revealed that over eight million women were now members of the nation's work force (Johnston, 1992). Women were registering gains in terms of their rights, but they still had much to accomplish if equality were going to be realized. Discrimination in the work place and public sphere still existed, as did many of the traditional conceptions of women and women's place in society (Flexner, 1959). Although women were now assured the right to vote, "the ballot did little for woman's advancement, no issue unified women reformers, and

differing conceptions of emancipation produced... bitter divisions within the movement" (K. Campbell, 1989, p. 181). The "Red Scare" of the 1920s caused many women's rights advocates, such as Jane Addams, Carrie Chapman Catt and Florence Kelly, to be referred to as communists. Consequently, they had to defend themselves against such allegations, taking their focus off their advocacy for women's rights (Campbell, 1989). The divisions within the movement, the lack of focus, and the "Red Scare", together with the fact that the majority of women did not vote even with the right now assured, led the movement again, into a stage of maintenance.

A Comparison

As the women's movement coursed through the life cycle of social movements, it experienced enthusiastic mobilization twice. Mobilization was first encountered during the 1840s to 1860s and again during the 1900s to 1920s. When juxtaposing these two periods of mobilization, differences and similarities can be detected that may provide clues to understanding the movement as a whole. Seven areas of interest arise when comparing these two phases of enthusiastic mobilization, they are: 1) membership, 2) initiation, 3) basic objectives, 4) opposition, 5) historical circumstances, 6) internal elements, and 7) loss of stamina.

First, many members of the movement during both phases, migrated to the defense of women's rights from other advocacy groups. During the first mobilization, the majority of feminists had originally focused their attention of the abolition of slavery, the anti-slavery advocates include: Sarah Grimke, Angelina Grimke Weld, Lucretia Coffin Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (K. Campbell, 1993). During the second wave of feminism, many feminists had originally focused their efforts on the civil rights of industrial workers. These spokeswomen include Florence Kelly, Margaret Dreier Robins, and Reverend Dr. Anna Howard Shaw (K. Campbell, 1993; Johnston, 1992). In both phases of mobilization, many women joined the feminist movement as a result of their realization and anger that they were being treated as second class citizens.

Second, except for the leaders who experienced both the ending of the first time period and the beginning of the other, both mobilization periods constitute a beginning. That is, each wave of feminism had to create its own meaning, for its constituents were unaware of the past. The first mobilization constitutes the original beginning of the feminist movement in the United States. Historically, the mobilization that occurred during the 1900s to 1920s produced the second wave of feminism; however, for those who participated in the second mobilization, it was a beginning. Due to the lack of a complete historical documentation of female social influence in the public sphere, these feminists had no model by which to pattern their persuasive efforts to effect change (Spitzack and Carter, 1973).

Third, the basic objectives of both phases of mobilization were similar. In the first phase, feminists questioned the gender-oriented system of society, and worked to obtain social, legal, religious rights for women to enable them to enjoy better lives (K. Campbell, 1993; Flexner, 1959). These same objectives served as goals for members of the second wave of advocates sponsoring the ideology of feminism. Although the objectives were the same; the method of reform emphasized was transposed from educational and civic consciousness raising to the ballot box (Johnston, 1992). The women in the second mobilization did have past feminist successes on which to build, so they were able to bring the movement even closer to the attainment of its objectives.

Fourth, the arguments of the opposition to the movement in both stages of mobilization were similar. In the period from the 1840s to the 1860s, church and state representatives supported the claim that a woman's place was solely in the home. They argued that if women succeeded in having rights legally recognized, they would enter the public sphere, not only leaving their families in disarray, but also creating chaos in men's world of work. This theme appeared again in the 1900s to 1920s when opponents of the feminist movement postulated that granting women requested rights would lead to the demise of the family, and a decrease in the effectiveness of the public sector (Flexner, 1959).

Fifth, historical circumstances played an important role in the both phases of mobilization. War gave women a different perspective on their role in society. In attaining a new perspective, women became more aware of their oppression, and intensified their demands for assurance of specific rights. During the Civil War, women worked to support the efforts of the Union. They came to understand their importance to the war effort. When the war was over women were expected to return to the life contexts to which they had been traditionally assigned; however, women would not again take for granted that their abilities were inferior to the abilities of men. They were not satisfied with the roles society allotted to them, and began to labor for equal rights. Likewise, during World War I, women played a major role. They took jobs in factories, ship yards, and lumber mills in addition to serving as nurses (Johnston, 1992). Once again, when women were expected to return to the domestic life they led before the war, they did so with new perspective: if a woman could do a "man's job" just as well as a man, how could she be inferior?. This new perspective "created a more favorable climate for a feminist movement" (Johnston, 1992, p. 115).

Sixth, both times the movement mobilized, there were both radical and conservative elements. During the original mobilization of the movement, some advocates called for reform, while others advocated revolution. Reformers such as Lucretia Coffin Mott worked to improve women's role in both domestic and public spheres of society (K. Campbell, 1993). Other feminists, such as Victoria Claflin Woodhull, advocated women's complete equality with men. These positions were inconsistent with religious, scientific, and legal theories of the day. When the movement began to remobilize in the beginning of the twentieth century, conservative and radical elements were once again visible. The NAWSA represented the more conservative concerns for women, focusing on the rights of women to have a voice in government and on family issues. On the other hand, the NWP demanded women's economic independence, opportunity for women to serve in civic capacities, a single standard of morality, abolition of prostitution, and the right of women to express their ideas privately and publicly (Johnston, 1992).

Seventh, the factors that contributed to the loss of stamina and end of mobilization within both waves of the feminist movement are the same. The lack of substantive gains, and continued lack of success in their efforts to effect change, led members of both periods of mobilization to become disenchanted with the movement (Johnston, 1992). In the period of mobilization in existence during the 1840s to 1860s, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments represented the failure of advocates' efforts to extend voting privileges to women (K. Campbell, 1989). Many individuals left the movement because they no longer had enthusiasm to devote for what seemed like a lost cause. During the second period of mobilization, stamina was lost when many advocates felt as if their efforts had been futile due to women's lack of enthusiasm in exercising their right to vote. As a result of this lack of enthusiasm many acts that could have benefited women were not ratified, or were overturned, such as: the Sheppard-Towner Act (federally funded health care), and the Child Labor Amendment (K. Campbell, 1989; Flexner, 1959). Additionally, both periods of mobilization were crippled by the counter efforts of the opposition which portrayed the entire movement as being antifamily, and when feminists challenged the traditional family, or people believed that the traditional family was being challenged, the movement did not gain large amounts of support and its efforts to effect change were not notably successful (Johnston, 1992).

In comparing the feminist movement's first two periods of mobilization, the abundance of similarities shows that the movement's basic objective of equality for women was steadfast, that many women's rights advocates migrated to the feminist movement from other advocacy groups, and that events in history had an impact on movement. The comparison also reflects the tendency of the movement to lose stamina when it challenges (or is said to challenge) the traditional family, and the presence of both radical and conservative factions within the movement have existed during both periods of mobilization. In Chapter One the duality of approaches to feminism in the modern feminist movement was discussed. So it appears as if the third phase of the women's movement has at least one element similar with past phases of the movement. K. Foss and s. Foss contend that more comparisons of past and contemporary phases

of the movement "might reveal tactics, strategies and lessons from the past that could benefit contemporary feminists" (1983, p. 200). In Chapter Three, an overview of the modern feminist movement will be followed by a comparison of the "modern" mobilization with the movement's past periods of mobilization and will end with a discussion of the duality of feminist rhetoric.

Chapter Three

The Modern Feminist Movement

A Third Mobilization: 1960s

On Black Thursday, October 24, 1929 the United States stock market crashed. The repercussions of Black Thursday were far reaching as, "depression settled on the country, in the pocketbook and on the mind" (Johnston, 1992, p. 144). The years following this dark day in history were ones in which "women shared in the misery and destitution", but "also began to claim more overt power at the home and in the public sphere" (p. 145). Women were becoming the breadwinners in their households, and yet they still faced discrimination. Women were gaining independence, but this independence was not a result of the women's movement, for during the 1930s the feminist movement did not flourish (Johnston, 1992); during the Great Depression, men and women were focusing their energies on feeding their families, on surviving.

Women who were able to devote some of their time to crusading for women's rights did so combining "traditional values and humanitarian zeal" (Johnston, 1992, p. 165). Eleanor Roosevelt was one of women's greatest advocates; she presented a new vision of freedom to the average American woman--a vision in which women took their moral superiority and nurturant qualities into the public sector. She believed that women's rights were essential to the achievement of human rights and social justice for all (Johnston, 1992). Eleanor Roosevelt, and other women's rights advocates like her, did not directly challenge traditional female roles. These roles were reinforced during the depression, although the extension of women's roles in public society gave them more confidence in their abilities, and greater authority in family affairs.

In the 1940s, the role of women in society changed again. Again this change was not brought on by the women's movement. On December 6, 1941, Pearl Harbor was attacked, and the United States declared war against Japan; subsequently war was declared against Germany

and Italy. World War II, like World War I, caused many women to enter the work force. Due to the absence of many husbands and fathers from homes in the United States, many women were forced to maintain their families alone. Women worked in factories, either because of patriotism or because of need for money. Through the duality of their war time roles, women gained self-sufficiency and independence (Johnston, 1992). When the war was over in 1945, and the soldiers returned home to their wives and families, both men and women found adjusting difficult. Women still considered themselves primarily wives and mothers; however, with their increased self-confidence it was not easy for them once again to assume submissive and dependent roles they had fulfilled before the war (Johnston, 1992).

"The Great Depression had increased women's domestic power, and the war greatly accelerated the process" (Johnston, 1992, p. 171). Although women had gained domestic power and some social power, when the men returned from the war, women were expected to leave their jobs and return to the home. Most women did return home, for they longed for stability and security, and they had missed their husbands that served in the war. "The postwar era was filled with lovemaking" (p. 196), creating a baby boom, and "careers [for women] went out of fashion" (Hewlett, 1986). As the birthrate doubled, the responsibilities of a wife/mother grew twofold. Women were once again confined to covert power within the home, and again women began to measure their achievement through there abilities to run a household (Hewlett, 1986). With the new confidence, these loving, nurturing wives and mothers began to cultivate their role in the home while their husbands were at work.

Women who were not part of the middle-class often were not given the choice to return to the security and stability of the home. Women who continued to be employed received wage reductions or switched to more "feminine employment" (Johnston, 1992), facing continuing discrimination in the public sphere. These women were constrained to occupations that society felt were more appropriate for them, such as clerical work. Their average salaries were less than the salaries of men in comparable positions, and less than their salaries during the war (Johnston, 1992). Women's organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the

League of Women Voters lobbied for federal child care and equal opportunity in the workplace. These efforts met with little success. Discontent began to build.

Against this social backdrop, many women contributed to the civil rights movement; for their time and effort, many women found themselves discriminated against, even within a movement advocating human rights. Although women dedicated much time and effort to the cause of civil rights for African Americans, their efforts were not recognized, and women were not given key administrative positions within the organizational structure of the movement. (Johnston, 1992). In 1960, the birth control pill was approved for marketing (Cohen, 1988). This event marked the beginning of the sexual revolution which complemented the feminist movement (Hutchison, 1990). Many women believed the social repercussions of this new method of birth control would help restrict or eliminate the double sexual standard that continued to oppress them (Johnston, 1992). The discrimination in the work force, the discrimination in the civil rights movement, the extreme emphasis on domesticity for women that persisted in North American culture, alongside women's hope to alleviate the double sexual standard, propelled the women's movement once again into the stage of social unrest.

In 1961, the institutions of society began to recognize the plight of women. President John F. Kennedy appointed the President's Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission found that eight out of ten women were employed, and yet in academe, "were earning only one in three B.A.'s and M.A.'s, and one in ten Ph.D.'s" (Johnston, 1992, p. 247). Equality in education and work opportunities was the focus of much of the Commission's findings and recommendations, as was the need for family services. Although most of the Commission, which included Eleanor Roosevelt and Margaret Mead (a feminist scholar, who believed in incorporating career, marriage, and children), did not support the ERA, their efforts as part of the Commission helped to initiate renewed fervor in the women's movement which endorsed the amendment.

In 1963, Betty Freidan published the book, The Feminine Mystique, and Gloria Steinem published the article, "I Was A Playboy Bunny", in Show magazine. The ideas of these two

women led many women to acknowledge that sexual discrimination against women did occur. In response to their raised consciousness, women began to consolidate their efforts to alleviate discrimination and the women's movement once again began to mobilize. Many women not actively participating in the mobilization of the movement still supported it, sometimes even making financial contributions (Kaufman, 1972). In June, 1966, during the third National Conference of State Commissions on the Status of Women, the National Organization for Women (NOW) was formed (Cohen, 1988). NOW immediately began to advocate women's rights. In 1966, this organization petitioned the Equal Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to ban separate male/female want ads; in addition to holding demonstrations protesting age discrimination against female stewardesses. In 1967, NOW picketed the New York Times, because the paper ran male/female want adds; in 1968, NOW filed suit against the EEOC "'to force it to comply with its own governmental rules'" (Cohen, 1988, p. 391). That same year NOW protested the Miss America Pageant. At the site of the pageant in Atlantic City, New Jersey, members passed out tracts, held up banners, and picketed, claiming that the pageant objectificated women's bodies. They protested symbolically as well, by burning bras, crowning a sheep, and auctioning off an effigy of "'Miss America'" (Johnston, 1992, p. 243).

Other women's rights organizations were formed during the mid and late 1960s. In 1967, the group, New York Radical Women was formed. In 1968, WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Collation From Hell) split from the New York Radical Women. The Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) was formed to fight against sexual discrimination in education; in 1969, the New York Radical Feminists were formed, and in 1972, the Women's Action Alliance was created(Cohen, 1988). These groups focused on many different issues ranging from child care to abortion reform ("Women's Liberation", 1972). They participated in many marches, demonstrations, and rallies throughout the country.

Thus far, the modern feminist movement had experienced many successes, and some defeats. In 1964, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, Title VII of this act made sexual discrimination in employment in businesses of twenty-five or more employees illegal. In 1968,

the EEOC issued guidelines forbidding male/female employment ads. In 1970, the ERA was forced out of the House Judiciary Committee, where it had been since 1948, to the floor of the House of Representatives. That same year, Cornell University was unique in offering its first major course in women's studies, and the Public Health Service Act was passed (under Title X of the act, funds for family planning and contraception became available for low-income women). In 1971, the Supreme Court ruled that businesses could not refuse to hire women with children, if they did not require men to meet the same criterion. The University of Michigan became the first higher education institution to adopt an affirmative action plan for women, so that they would not be denied educational opportunities on the basis of their gender. The ERA passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 354 to 23, and in 1972, passed in the Senate 84 to 8. That same year, the Equal Opportunity Act was passed, with a provision against sexual discrimination, and at the national level, six women were elected to Congress, and sixteen to the House. In 1973, the Supreme Court legalized abortion through the first trimester of pregnancy. In 1975, Time magazine's "man of the year" was transposed to twelve women; in 1978, the Pregnancy Disability Act was passed, and in 1979, President Jimmy Carter created the National Women's Business Enterprise. In 1981, Sandra Day O'Conner was confirmed as the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court, and in 1982, the deadline for ERA ratification ran out, three states short of what was required for ratification. In 1983, there were three times as many women in state legislatures than there had been a decade earlier, and in 1984, Geraldine Ferraro, a Representative from New York, won the nomination for U.S. Vice-President at the Democratic National Convention (Cohen, 1988). Each year the feminist movement steadily made small gains in its efforts to gain rights for women. No one large victory revolutionized society, a collection of modest achievements made over a period of years began to alter the perception of women's roles both in the home and in the public sector.

In the 1960s and 1970s, opposition to the feminist movement began to organize and launch efforts to counter feminist goals and successes. The opposition believed that the feminist movement was essentially antifamily. Groups such as AWARE (Women Against the

Ratification of the ERA), FOE (Females Opposed to Equality), HOME (Happiness of Motherhood Eternal), WWWW (Women Who Want to be Women), and STOP ERA began to publish reports and give speeches in opposition to ERA and the entire feminist agenda, holding that the feminist agenda would destroy family values, thereby leading to the demise of the family. The efforts of these groups attracted many women, and their efforts succeeded in preventing the ratification of the ERA. Many of these groups opposed sex education in schools, favored the re-establishment of prayer in the public schools, supported the forbidding of federal funding for textbooks that portrayed women in non-traditional roles, and called for the repeal of court-approved abortion rights (Johnston, 1992).

As the feminist movement entered into the 1990s, the battle between feminists and antifeminists continued. Both sides continually turned to more drastic efforts in order to achieve their goals. An extreme example of radical efforts being resorted to by groups supporting contrasting positions on a feminist issue, i.e., abortion, occurred in March, 1993; Dr. David Gun, who worked at an abortion clinic, was shot and killed outside a Florida abortion clinic by an anti-abortion protester. Later in August, 1993, Dr. George Tiller, who worked at an abortion clinic in Kansas, was also murdered by an anti-abortion protester. In response to these killings, "pro-choice" advocates urged Congress to pass the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (Melich, 1993). This act has been approved in both Houses of Congress and should become law before the close of 1994 (Van Biema, 1994). Additionally, in January, 1994, the Supreme Court ruled that under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organization law (RICO), many of the radical activities of antiabortion activists (bombing, murders, assaults, et.) could lead to criminal suits filed against all members of groups responsible for these violent acts (Van Biema, 1994). There are many issues other than the abortion question over which members of the feminist movement are battling opposition. Feminists and their opposition have become entangled in a vicious cycle of activism. If one side wins, the other side loses. The loser then musters a stronger effort to achieve objectives, wins, and the previous victor becomes the loser. The cycle then repeats itself in a spiraling pattern.

Rhetoric within the Modern Feminist Movement

During this most recent stage of mobilization, feminists have utilized many forms of communication in attempts to achieve their goals. Through oral and written discourse, as well as symbolic actions, feminists have tried to gain rights for women; however, individuals and organizations within the modern feminist movement have not all consistently employed the same rhetorical strategies in their persuasive attempts. Some feminists endeavor to combine traditional family roles with the ideals of feminism in order to create effective persuasive efforts; Hillary Clinton (First Lady of the United States, and prominent lawyer) and Marilyn Quayle (wife of Past U. S. Vice-President Dan Quayle) employ this type of rhetorical strategy in their persuasive efforts (K. Campbell, 1994). Other feminists reject all roles and mores established by society, denouncing institutions of society through their rhetorical efforts: Germaine Greer (feminist journalist) and Mary Daley (feminist scholar) utilize this approach to feminism (Johnston, 1992).

As stated in Chapter One, these diverging rhetorical strategies of the modern women's movement can be classified according to the organization's (or individual's) stance regarding the "sex/gender system" in society (Sommers, 1989, p. B2). Sommers states there are gender feminists and equity feminists. Equity feminists advocate women's equal access to political, social, legal, and economic power. Gender feminists want to create a genderless culture, in which the institutions of the nuclear family and maternal responsibility are abandoned (Sommers, 1989; 1990). Sommers states that within the modern feminist movement, the radical and moderate factions are not the only camps that exist. She contends there is a spectrum of feminist philosophies: the liberal, the egalitarian, the Marxist, the radical, and the socialist feminist philosophies (Sommers, 1990); she further maintains, that there are other contemporary sub-groups of feminism that are classified as part of the more radical of these philosophies, taking "characteristic pride in their revolutionary perspective on society and the family" (p. 145). Adherents to the egalitarian, Marxist, radical, and socialist perspectives, Sommers classifies as gender feminists because, all of these outlooks on feminism view popular culture as something

"that needs to be 'critiqued' and, perhaps, eliminated" (p. 146). In taking a closer look at each of these feminist philosophies, the equity and gender approaches to achieving feminist goals can be better understood, as can the modern women's movement as a whole.

Gender feminists are the egalitarian, Marxist, radical, and socialist feminists. The egalitarian is the least radical of these four gender-oriented feminist perspectives. Members of this group actively work to remove laws and reform institutions in order to achieve complete equality between men and women. Egalitarian feminists want to abolish the nuclear family in favor of an egalitarian alternative; in their point of view, "Family life as typically practiced in our society is not just, either to women or to children. . . . A just future would be one without gender'" (Sommers, 1990, p. 143). The ideal genderless society for these feminists is one in which, "'Bisexuality, not heterosexuality or homosexuality, would by the typical intimate sexual relationship'" (p. 143). The persuasive effects which egalitarian feminists are trying to achieve are revolutionary; however, the rhetorical strategies used to achieve those effects are somewhat moderate. Public discourse, published writings, attempts to change legislation, and petitions are rhetorical strategies employed by egalitarian feminists.

The second type of gender feminists are the Marxist feminists. Marxist feminists believe that "Marxism can be revised to take feminism into account" (Johnston, 1992, p. 258), and that "women's oppression will be abolished in the classless society" (Sommers, 1990, p. 143). Marxist feminists believe that the family is the "primary source of women's oppression and the first institution of private property and division of labor" (Johnston, 1992, p. 258). Marxist feminist theory claims that when the class struggle is won, "the discriminatory aspect of the gender [female] will be overcome" (Sommers, 1990, p. 143).

Radical feminism, another form of gender feminism, "sees women as the most oppressed group in history" (Sommers, 1990, p. 143). This philosophy is very confrontational and controversial, because it abjures almost every aspect of modern society, claiming that society is a patriarchy. Radical feminists assert that motherhood is oppressive to women, declaring, "'A mother is she whose body is used as a resource to reproduce men and the world of men. . . . It

[motherhood] continues the structure within which females must be women and mothers'" (Sommers, 1990, p. 144). Johnston in discussing radical feminism states:

> Radical feminists believe that men dominate women in every area of life. Therefore, they assume that all relations between men and women are institutionalized power relations. Personal institutions like childrearing, housework, love, sexual intercourse, and marriage reinforce male power; rape and prostitution are symptomatic of men's desire to dominate women. . . . [R]adical feminists want women to regain control over their own bodies and eventually to build a female culture built on values of wholeness, trust, nurturance, sensuality, joy, and wildness (1992, p. 255).

Socialist feminists are also gender feminists. They work to abolish both class and gender systems (Sommers, 1990). Socialist feminists believe that women in society are taught to structure their lives according to gender, and for the rest of their lives are limited to this structure (Sommers, 1990); consequently they "seek the full actualization of women's human potential through free productive labor, free sexual expression, and bearing and rearing children freely. Though a transformation of the economic foundation of society, work, sexuality, parenting, and childrearing must all be transformed" (Johnston, 1992, p. 258).

In contrast to the gender feminists are the equity feminists. According to Sommers, equity feminists are liberal feminists who "demand that principles of liberty and equality be applied to all women" (1992, p. 142). Equity feminists accept that "most women do not think of a conventional heterosexual life style as something that could be politically wrong, and they do not think of the traditional family as being politically suspect" (Sommers, 1988). Equity feminists call for the development of women as full human beings, and are strongly pro-family (Johnston, 1992). Equity feminists assert that women should have a choice as to the path by which they want to chart their lives, whether that choice be career or family oriented, or a mix of both. Equity feminists believe that it is good for women to be wives and mothers, if that is what they want to be, if an inforned, conscious choice to pursue that kind of life over another has been made.

Equity and gender feminists differ not only in ideology but also in rhetorical strategies. Equity feminists recognize that public discourse is still considered a masculine activity (K. Campbell, 1994); they stylistically adapt their persuasive efforts in order to avoid conflicting with societal expectations. Equity feminists attempt to legitimize their femininity through their stylistic adaptations, relying heavily on personal experiences and anecdotes. The medium for equity feminist messages vary, as does the manner in which they make their points; however, all equity feminists support women, and do not rationalize against family or men. One example of equity feminist rhetoric can be found in Geraldine Ferraro in June, 1981, at the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC). She began her speech with personal stories,

> I have to tell you, I usually start of with 'I'm delighted to be here this morning, this evening, this afternoon,' and in my printed speech that's actually how this one started off too. But yesterday morning as my family left for our beach house out in Fire Island, I really was filled with this awful feeling of regret. I said, 'Oh my God, why did I say yes?' It's been a little bit hectic. I flew in last night from New York, and I'd flown into New York the night before from Washington, and tonight I go back to New York (Foley, 1993, p. Ferraro-1).

She went on calling for more opportunities for women, support of the ERA, praise of Sandra Day O'Conner, and the achievements made by the women's movement. She made a point of discussing the difficulties of being a mother and politician, and commented on the rewards of both (Foley, 1993). Equity feminism is also reflected in the writing of Christina Hoff Summers, Professor of Philosophy at Clark University, Massachusetts, who asserts in many of her published journal articles that women are receptive to liberal feminist reforms, but are still willing to chose to have a family. Finally, equity feminist rhetoric is also found in the work of Cynthia Heimel (feminist columnist, for Playboy magazine). Heimel uses humor to express her views. Heimel writes,

> This is not a book about feminism. God, no. Not for a second. It might be true that I remember a time when feminism meant that a woman, although she liked and lusted after

> men, wanted to be in charge of her own life and her own job and her own carburetor. . . . And it's also true that I became confused when 'feminist' rather suddenly was changed to mean: *A ballbuster who hates all men and wants to see them dead*. . . . 'Oh no, certainly not, I'm not a feminist, get outa here' (Heimel, 1992, p. xviii).

In comparison, gender feminists do not adapt their rhetorical style. Through rejecting what society has traditionally defined as feminine (Sommers, 1989), gender feminists' rhetorical strategies purposely avoid any remnant of femininity, acceptance of societal institutions, and directly conflict with societal expectations. The trends in gender feminist rhetoric, are to debase men, the institution of marriage, and the nuclear family. They argue that patriarchy is inherent in society, and that it is destroying women. For example, Jeffner Allen, feminist writer, states,

> A mother is she whose body is used as a resource to reproduce men and the world of men . . Motherhood is dangerous to women because it continues the structure within which females must be women and mothers, and, conversely, because it denies to females the creation of a subjectivity and a world that is open and free (Allen, 1984, p. 315).

Additionally, Sandra Harding, feminist academic, asserts,

> A system of male dominance is made possible by men's control of women's productive and reproductive labor, where 'reproduction' is broadly construed to include sexuality, family life, and kinship formations, as well as the birthing that reproduces the species (Harding, 1983, p. 312).

Finally, Simone de Beauvoir, considered to be the founder of gender feminist theory, contends,

> No woman should be authorized to stay at home and raise her children...one should not have the choice precisely because if there is such a choice, too many women will make that one (Davidson, 1988, p. 17).

Comparing Modern Feminism to its Past

> "Early feminists were of a Victorian ideology that kept women housebound, on pedestals: today's feminists emerge form a postwar ideology that kept women housebound in the

> suburbs. . . . Antifeminists used to invoke God, the Bible, and in a pinch, Aristotle, to justify the status quo; women who wanted to vote defied the natural order. Antifeminists now invoke Darwin, Freud, and Lorenz for the same purpose. Men used to point out the contented women who didn't want to vote; today they point to the contented housewives who don't want to be President" (Tavris, 1972, p. 57).

When comparing the most recent wave of enthusiastic mobilization in the feminist movement to preceding periods of mobilization, few differences can be found. All three stages of mobilization are marked by similar basic objectives, similar historical influences, similar arguments from the opposition, and similar triggering incidents. Additionally, all three episodes of mobilization have contained both conservative and radical elements. The modern feminist movement is currently mobilized and initiating persuasive attempts to effect further change. Through comparing the modern feminist movement with past waves of feminism, relevant information will aid in developing an understanding of how and why contemporary feminists do/do not achieve their goals. Such a comparison will also provide insights that may assist in predicting whether or not the modern feminist movement will lose stamina and enter, once again, the maintenance stage of the social movement life cycle.

As with the first two periods of mobilization, the modern feminist movement accumulated a majority of its original membership from other advocacy groups. The discrimination against women within the African American civil rights movement created cognitive dissonance for many of its constituents that led to a mass exodus. The bulk of those who fled the civil rights movement found themselves advocating the assurance of human rights as part of the women's movement (Johnston, 1992). For the third time in United States history, women began calling for a more egalitarian society, for equal access to education, and for more political and economic power ("The New", 1972). For the second time, equal pay for equal work became an issue that women found important, and for the third time, mainstream feminist issues are not focusing on the dominant concerns of all women ("Women's Liberation", 1972). For example, the modern feminist movement is alienating minority-group women who feel that the

movement is "oriented toward white, middle class professional women", who do not understand that for most minority-group women the motto is "black liberation before women's liberation" (p. 30). Additionally, the movement estranges many female homemakers in its support of the ERA in its current form. If the ERA were ever ratified, "the measure [a great amount] of homemaker's rights [would be] wiped out", and female homemakers would not be assured any compensation for their years of work to enhance the quality of life in the home if their marriages ended in divorce (Hewlett, 1986, p. 200).

Again, out of their contributions to a war effort (World War II), women gained a new outlook on their abilities to function in society. These new attitudes women carried with them back to their pre-war gender roles; they began to become disenchanted with the gender-oriented roles assigned to them, because they limited their opportunities both in the public and private sectors of society (Johnston, 1992). Again, opposition to the women's movement is relying on informational data from biology and psychology to support of the status quo, i. e., inferior roles for women (Tavris, 1972), and again, the opposition is referring to the extreme positions defended by a few radicals within the movement in order to assign a negative image to the movement as a whole. It is observed that "problems are caused by extreme positions that are taken by only a few feminists but which are often used against the movement as a whole" ("Women's Liberation", 1972, p. 30). These extreme positions are commonly interpreted as being antimale, and antifamily (Johnston, 1992). Again, women who are aggressive or successful in the public sphere are being characterized as unattractive and unfeminine (K. Campbell, 1994; "Male and Female", 1972).

Again the supporters of the movement were unaware of past female social influence. As a result, they, again, had no model on which to pattern their persuasive efforts to effect change (Spitzack and Carter, 1973). Due to a lack of a complete rhetorical history, modern feminists were initially unable to learn from the strategic mistakes of the past; however, soon after the onset of this most recent mobilization, an impressive number of researchers in various academic

disciplines began to focus on the feminist movement, and in particular, on feminine communication strategies (K. Foss and S. Foss, 1983).

One method of gaining insight into the question of whether the modern feminist movement will/will not reach its desired ends, is to analyze and evaluate feminist rhetorical strategies in order to discover whether or not they are producing, or have the potential to produce, the desired effects. This analysis will be completed in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four

Analysis of the Modern Feminist Movement: A Burkeian Approach

The Need For Rhetorical Analysis

The rhetoric of a movement is the essence of the movement itself; a movement's inception, growth, mobilization, and maintenance are contingent on the movement's abilities to target and persuade its audience (Cathcart, 1972). Because persuasive efforts are at the core of all activities of a social movement (Stewart, et. al., 1989), rhetorical criticism can be used to determine the effectiveness of a movement's attempts to influence. According to K. Campbell, "such criticism improves the quality of persuasive discourse in society, and tests and modifies both theories of rhetoric and critical systems" through increasing one's capacity to understand communication strategies and make informed, deliberate judgments based on persuasive discourse (1972, p. 12). Rhetorical criticism can provide instruction as to how societal interactions can be managed more effectively, promote better understanding of a persuasive phenomenon, and even reveal the dynamic processes of society itself (Brock, Scott, and Chesebro, 1990). Criticism is therefore important to ameliorate understanding of how persuasive efforts affect individuals and the society which they comprise. More specifically, this insight into persuasive efforts gained through analysis of the rhetorical strategies employed by an individual/group can help to determine the effects of twofold feminist rhetoric on the feminist movement as a whole. Through investigating the effects of the modern feminist movement's persuasive attempts, the degree to which the movement is engaging its audience can be determined, as well as the movement's impact on and interaction with society. As a capping consideration, recommendations can be made as to how rhetorical strategies can be improved in order to make persuasive efforts more effective.

Justifying the Burkeian Approach to Social Movements

> Mr. Kenneth Burke....you take from him what you can get, and only realize later how much that was. Our sense of how literature [and rhetoric] can work and be worked upon is immensely richer because of him (Robert M. Adams, 1966).

When analyzing a social movement, the methodology chosen must allow the critic to investigate all phases and aspects of the movement (Stewart, et. al., 1989). In using Kenneth Burke's method of analysis, critics can "analyze any level of symbolic behavior and any action: a single message; an individual persuader over time; a large event with many participants; a group, organization, or collectivity; social cultures or societies; and historical timeframes" (p. 154). In being applicable to all these levels of symbolic action and behavior, the Burkeian approach to social movements yields a methodology that satisfies the critic's need to investigate all phases and aspects of the social movement. Chesebro states that a method of criticism "is judged by its utility. If Burke's method serves a critic's objective, it is useful" (1994, p. 83). K. Campbell recognizes Burke's method of analysis as useful to the critic who is concerned with feminist issues, she states: "What makes this description applicable is that it recognizes a variety of symbolic acts, the role of drama and conflict, and the essentially moral or value-related character of rhetorical movements" (1973, p. 85). Burke's approach to analysis is useful to this study, not only because it provides a method for investigating all phases and aspects of the women's movement, but also because his approach enables the critic to grasp the duality of symbolic acts or rhetorical strategies which constitute it.

Burke's Philosophy of Communication

According to Burke, the attribute that separates the human animal from other animals, is the use of symbols to communicate; he asserts that humans are the only "symbol-making", "symbol-using", and "symbol-misusing" animals (1966, p. 6). Language is the system of symbols assisting people in accomplishing various goals; for instance, people through the use of

language can "define, accept, or reject a situation" (Stewart, et. al., 1989, p. 138). As a medium of communication, language "is the defining characteristic and essence of human life" (p. 138). An individual's reality is constructed through his/her use of symbols. As infants, human beings are taught to find meaning in the symbols that constitute language. The manner in which a person learns to attach symbols to his/her environment determines the manner in which the individual will construct his or her reality, and ultimately how he/she will respond to environmental stimuli, including the messages communicated by other individuals (Burke, 1966).

When a person strives "to reach goals in areas such as education politics, religion, commerce, or finance" he/she is motivated by his/her symbolicity, "to be motivated to act in these areas requires a symbol system that creates the possibility for such desires in the first place" (S. Foss, 1989, p. 336). Burke asserts that when individuals' desires stem from their symbolicity, they are participating in the realm of action. Action is how people personally create their reality through their symbol systems (1966).

In developing the concept of action, Burke distinguishes between action and motion. Motion is concerned with nature and "the endless process of life" (Stewart, et. al., 1989, p, 138), the "biological or animal aspect of the human being, which is concerned with bodily processes such as growth, digestion, respiration, and...the maintenance of these processes such as food, shelter and rest" (S. Foss, 1989, p. 335). On the other hand, action "corresponds to the symbolic or neurological aspect of the human being", which is the ability to acquire language (p. 336). Burke establishes three conditions for action, they are: 1) there must be freedom of choice--a person must posses the ability to make a choice, 2) there must be a purpose or will to choose--whether cognizant of a choice or not; one option must be chosen over another, and 3) action cannot exist without motion (but motion can exist without action)--being hungry is a motion, but choosing to eat at home instead of eating out is an action (1962).

Burke contends that in the world of nature

> 'everything simply is what it is and as it is'. A tree, for example is a tree; in no way can it be 'not a tree'. The only way in which something can 'not be' something in nature is for it 'to be' something else....There is no image of nothing in nature (S. Foss, et. al., 1991, p. 189).

The concept of negative has no referent in reality; it is a creation of society's system of symbols. Through language the concept of negative is born. Through the concept of negative, choices can be made; individuals can decide whether 'to' or 'not to' choose to do something. As stated earlier, choice makes action; therefore action is a result of the concept of negative, a result of society's system of symbols, and people's symbol-making, symbol-using, symbol-misusing behavior (Burke, 1966; 1962).

The ability of individuals to make choices not only creates action, but moral action as well. Moral action is inseparable from the concept of negative; only through the concept of negative can commandments or admonitions that govern the actions of individuals be enacted (Burke, 1966). In her interpretation of Burke's discussion of moral action, S. Foss states:

> The ability to distinguish between right and wrong thus is a consequence of the concept of the negative. Without the negative implicit in language, moral action, or action based on conceptions of right and wrong behavior (such as law, moral and social rules, and rights), would not exist (1989, p. 190).

Not everyone employs symbol systems similarly, consequently there are many differences found between people, especially as to how they perceive reality. These differences create division in society. Communication with others enables individuals to discuss their differences, as well as to search for communality. Burke states that the shared aspects of individuals which they discover through their communication efforts, comprise what is "consubstantial" between them (Burke, 1962). Consubstantiality is the quality of two or more individuals being united "through communication [of] ideas, material possessions, or other properties" (S. Foss, et. al., 1991, p. 174). Burke contends individuals communicate in order to diminish the division inherent in a society utilizing symbols to define the world, and hopefully to

become consubstantial. Burke refers to the process of becoming consubstantial with others as "identification". Identification is a process that encourages cooperation through reduction of ambiguity between individuals/groups (1962). "Through interaction and identification we can become involved in many groups, causes, or movements; formulate or change allegiances; and vicariously share the role of leader and spokesperson" (Stewart, et. al., 1989, p. 144).

Identification plays a large role in Burke's concept of rhetoric. Burke asserts that persuasion is the result of identification, identification is a consequence of consubstantiality, and only through becoming consubstantial with another can persuasion be achieved (1962). Essentially, rhetorical strategies that prove to be successful in changing the attitudes or actions of the message's receivers are those which enable a rhetor to identify with his/her audience. In their discussion of the Burkeian approach to social movements, Stewart, Smith, and Denton, (1989) outline seven ways in which a rhetor can enhance or create identification with his/her audience:

1) to become involved with, or participate in, the group and its activities,
2) to share aspects of appearance with the group,
3) to adapt language to fit the symbol system of the audience,
4) to use examples easily understood by the audience
5) to reflect a group's values,
6) to use visual symbols with which the audience can identify, and
7) to refer to individuals or organizations that an audience approves, honors, or respects (pp. 144-5).

In summing up the idea of identification, Burke states "you can persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying you ways with his" (1966, p. 301).

Dramatism

Burke developed a method of analysis that is designed to help the critic "discover a rhetor's motive by examining how rhetoric is used to encompass a situation"; this methodology

he labeled "dramatism" (S. Foss, 1989, p. 335). Burke does not define a motive as the cause of an action, instead, it is how events and values are put together by the rhetor(s). With knowledge of motives, the critic becomes capable of discerning the choices of the rhetor(s), and the ramifications of those choices (Golden, et. al., 1984).

Burke contends that individuals and groups use rhetoric to constitute and present a particular point of view of a situation, in the same manner that a play creates a view of reality in which characters engage in communication within a particular context (1973). That is, people compose and direct their messages to each other in much the same way a play is presented, thus the concept of dramatism emerges (S. Foss, 1989). The critical instrument of the dramatistic approach in analyzing a specific rhetorical work , speaker, writer, campaign, or social movement is the pentad. The pentad helps the critic to assess the rhetorical event, as well as the rhetor's motives (Golden, et. al., 1984).

The Dramatic Pentad

The pentad enables the critic to become aware of "the many elements and influences in each persuasive situation and how key individuals, groups, and/or institutions attempt to 'construct reality'" (Stewart, et. al., 1989, p. 146). The pentad provides a means to analyze a rhetorical artifact in order to discover the rhetor's motives. Burke states, "The motivation out of which he [a rhetor] writes [speaks] is synonymous with the structural way in which he puts events and values together" (1973, p. 20).

The pentad consists of five terms which suggest how rhetors perceive their situations. Burke contends that rhetors perceive their situations through the elements of drama: act, agent, agency, scene, and purpose:

> In a rounded statement about motives, you must have some word that names the *act* (names what took place, in thought or deed), and another that names the *scene* (the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred); also you must indicate what

> person or kind of person (*agent*) performed the act, what means of instruments he used (*agency*), and the *purpose* (1962, p.20).

In addition to these five terms that constitute the pentad, Burke often includes another element to be considered in the analysis of motives. Attitude is this additional element; it designates the preparation for an act, a state of mind that may or may not lead to an act (S. Foss, 1989; S. Foss, et. al., 1991). In analysis, attitude can be "classed under the head of agent" (Burke, 1963, p. 20).

There are three steps in applying the pentad to a rhetorical work. First, the critic needs to identify the five elements of the pentad in the rhetoric under study. Second, the critic needs to investigate the relationships that exist among the five terms, through what Burke calls ratios. Ratios are formed when two terms of the pentad are paired together in order to ascertain their relationship with one another, and the effect that each has on the other (Burke, 1962). There are various ratios which can be investigated, they are: scene-act, scene-agent, scene-agency, scene-purpose, act-scene, act-agent, act-agency, act-purpose, agent-scene, agent-act, agent-agency, agent-purpose, agency-scene, agency-act, agency-agent, agency-purpose, purpose-scene, purpose-act, purpose-agent, and purpose-agency (S. Foss, 1989).

> An examination of all or many of the ratios possible from the five terms should produce one term that has the most impact on the other terms or that determines the nature of all or most of the other terms in the pentad. This term is the term that receives the greatest attention from the rhetor . . . All of the ratios tried are not included in the essay of criticism--only those ratios that produce significant insights (S. Foss, 1989, p. 341).

From this primary pentadic term, the critic is able to take the third step in pentadic criticism: discerning the motive of the rhetor. The primary term is a link to the type of philosophical system from which the rhetor's motives arise. Burke names a philosophical perspective that corresponds with each term of the pentad. If a particular term is featured in a rhetorical work, then clues to the motives of the rhetor can be found in the term's corresponding philosophical position (Burke, 1962; S. Foss, 1989; Golden et, al., 1984). S. Foss outlines the

associations between a term and a philosophical perspective as given in Burke's book, The Grammar of Motives; the associations are as follows:

> The *act*-realism (universal principles are more real than objects which are sensed),
>
> The *scene*-materialism (everything is explainable in terms of physical laws),
>
> The *agent*-idealism (views each person's experiences as fundamentally real),
>
> The *agency*-pragmatism (meaning lies in observable consequences),
>
> The *purpose*-mysticism (the element of unity is emphasized greatly, and individuality disappears) (1989).

From the primary pentadic term, a philosophical perspective is found that provides the critic with a starting point from which he/she can discover a rhetor's motives, and thereby better understand the entire communication episode.

The pentad can be internally or externally applied to a rhetorical artifact. "Burke developed the pentad to be used internally - within the rhetorical artifact itself - so that the pentadic elements or the five terms are selected from . . . the content of the rhetoric" (S. Foss, 1989, p. 339). Through internal pentadic analysis the manner in which the rhetor views a situation is made apparent. Internal pentadic analysis provides insights into how the rhetor functionally internalizes a situation; the act is understood by the critic - in regard to the rhetor, as the rhetor's interpretation of the event. This enables the critic to "delve more intimately into the rhetor's mind because more data are available about how the rhetor structures the world" (p. 339). The pentad can also be used externally. When the pentad is utilized in this manner, the rhetorical act under study is regarded as the act, and the labeling of the other terms of the pentad rests on environmental information outside the rhetorical act. Thus, external analysis features an analysis of information external to the rhetorical act and the relationship between environmental information and the rhetorical act, then of the rhetorical act itself. Through external pentadic analysis the relation of the rhetorical act to a particular context is investigated, providing the critic insight into how the rhetorical act functions as part of its environment.

The Pollution-Purification-Redemption Process

The negative, as discussed earlier in the chapter, leads to the establishment of hierarchies. These hierarchies are constructed on numerous negatives and mandates. Burke highlights "the inevitability of the hierarchic principle--the human impulse to build society around ambition or hierarchy on the basis of commandments derived from the concept of the negative" (S. Foss, et. al., 1991, p, 190). Hierarchies can be built around various elements that are based in difference, such as: differentiation by ages, status positions, different stages of education, division of labor, among other miscellaneous differences. According to the hierarchic principle, people are always trying to attain positions above them on the hierarchy and ultimately at the top of the hierarchy. They strive for the perfection which the top of the hierarchy represents. The concept of perfection is embedded in all hierarchies, and thus, individuals within hierarchies are constantly working toward the perfection of what ever element the hierarchy is built upon (S. Foss, et. al., 1991; Golden, et. al., 1984). For instance, individuals could be striving to elevate theri proposals to the highest level of preference in a public's hierarchy.

Members of a hierarchy are unified by their struggles to achieve perfection; however, division, always inherent in a symbol using system, still exists. There is much which members of a hierarchy do not know or understand about one another. Burke refers to the unexplained or unknown that is within hierarchies as mystery. Mystery performs two functions within a hierarchy: 1) to maintain the hierarchy, and 2) to enable communication among members within the hierarchy. Mystery maintains the hierarchy because once hierarchical members accept mysteries, they will be more apt to take orders from those higher in the structure of the hierarchy. Mystery enables communication efforts to proceed, for when individuals accept mystery, they overlook their diverging symbol systems and focus their attention on what between them is consubstantial. Communication between individuals is ameliorated when they are consubstantial (Burke, 1962; S. Foss, et. al. 1991).

As stated earlier, negative creates the possibility for moral action. Negative is responsible for the concepts of 'right' and 'wrong'. Within hierarchies the existence of moral

action results in the formation of rules/regulations. Intrinsic in hierarchies is the individual's inability to obey all the rules/regulations which are created by the hierarchy. When individuals do not obey the commandments, or accept the structure of their hierarchy, they experience what Burke calls "guilt" (1962). Burke's definition of guilt portrays it as "an offense that cannot be avoided" (S. Foss, et. al., 1991, p. 194). An individual experiences guilt, and eventually escapes from this guilt through a process which Burke calls the pollution-purification-redemption process. Through investigating how rhetors redeem themselves through this process, a critic has another method to understand the motives of the rhetor (Burke, 1962).

The first stage of this process is pollution. Pollution is inevitable, for it is the guilt that is inherent in hierarchies. Pollution is not something that happens to someone, it is the name for an individual's feelings of guilt. When individuals experience guilt (either as anxiety, social tension, unresolved tension or embarrassment), they are in the pollution stage of the process. To remain healthy, people must purge themselves of their guilt. Guilt is relieved in the purification phase of the process. Purification can be achieved in two ways, through victimage or mortification:

> Victimage is the principle of scapegoating, where a victim is selected to be the representative of unwanted evils and loaded with the guilt of the victimizer. . . . Mortification is the process in which we make ourselves suffer for our [own] guilt or sins (S. Foss, et. al., 1991, p. 197).

In order to serve as a scapegoat, an entity must, to some degree, be consubstantial with the victimizer; for the scapegoat "combines in one figure contrary principles of identification and alienation [division]" (Burke, 1962, pp. 140-1). Once a scapegoat has been chosen, and the guilt purged, redemption is experienced (Brock, 1990). In the redemption stage of this process, the rhetor is relieved of his/her guilt. The process of pollution-purification-redemption is activated by an individual's violation of some aspect of the hierarchy; the actuality of the process moving through these stages of order "is the philosophical foundation of Burke's system of rhetoric" (Brock, 1990, p. 186). Analysis of human action through the pollution-purification-redemption

process is not limited to the analysis of an individual, it can also be applied to groups such as campaigns or social movements (Stewart, et. al., 1989).

Implementation of Burkeian Thought in Analyzing the Women's Movement

Thus far the women's liberation (the collective activities of feminists) has been established to be a social movement, rhetoric has been defined and considered as integral to social movements, comparisons of different stages of mobilization throughout history have been completed, the duality of feminist rhetoric has been discussed, and a methodology for analyzing twofold feminist rhetoric has been introduced and explicated. The Burkeian approach to analysis will now be applied in further study of the rhetoric of the modern feminist movement. First, separate pentadic analyses of gender and equity feminist rhetoric will be completed (starting with the equity feminist rhetoric), followed by a comparison of the outcomes of these analyses. These two approaches to feminism are being investigated separately in order to provide a complete comparison, and subsequently to determine their effects on each other. Internal pentadic analysis will be completed in order to reveal the motives of the rhetors. As stated earlier, internal pentadic analysis focuses on rhetorical act, and therefore provides more insight into how rhetors view the world. Second, an investigation of how both types of feminist rhetoric relate to the pollution-purification-redemption process will be completed, and again the results of this dual analysis will be compared. Conclusions will be made regarding whether or not this duality within feminist rhetoric impacts the success of the women's movement as a whole.

Pentadic Analyses

The first task in pentadic analysis is to identify the five elements of the pentad as they operate in the rhetoric under study. For this study, the rhetoric under analysis is not that of one particular oratorical event; instead, this analysis will focus on the rhetorical trends of feminist discourse within the feminist movement. Within the rhetorical trends of the equity feminists, the following elements can be identified:

The scene (North American society, both the public and private spheres)

The agents (individuals that resist equal opportunities for women)

The act (oppression of women)

The agency (the laws and institutions that restrict women's range of opportunity)

The purpose (gender socialization)

In describing the situation, equity feminists refer to both the public and private spheres of North American society. The environment in which their lives unfold is the scene of action; therefore, women can never escape the act, as the scene of the act is the world in which they exist. Equity feminists define the act as the oppression of women. They argue against this act, contending that women are not given the same educational and professional opportunities as men. Equity feminists call for women to be viewed as equals in society--different from men, but equal. Equity feminists name those individuals opposing women's equality with men as agents. These agents are both male and female. They are men and women who still believe the only appropriate roles for women in society are those of wife and mother. Agents are people who do not believe that women should be able to choose whether to have careers or families or a combination of both. Laws and institutions that restrict women's opportunities are what the equity feminists designate as the agency or instruments used to oppress women. Agents want to restrict the opportunities offered to women by influencing laws and creating societal restrictions. The efforts of 'pro-life' activists are prime examples of attempts to establish control through law. These activists work to repeal *Roe V. Wade*, the Supreme Court ruling featuring the decision granting women the option of abortion within the first 23 weeks of pregnancy, in order to restrict women's control over their own bodies. According to the equity feminists, the purpose of the agent for performing the act is gender socialization. Equity feminists believe that people are conditioned by society to believe that women are not as important to society as men. The oppression of women does not necessarily have malignant intent, it is a consequence of the mores and values long sponsored by society.

The next step in completing a pentadic analysis is to investigate the relationships among the various elements of the pentad in regard to the rhetoric of equity feminism. All the ratios give the critic insight into the from and structure of feminist rhetorical trends; however, the agency-act, agency-purpose, and agency-agent ratios are of great assistance in determining the motives behind equity feminst rhetoric. These three ratios are pivotal to the critic in uncovering the primary term. In order to determine which of the pentadic elements is the primary element of equity feminist rhetoric these ratios will be discussed in regard to the relationship between the paired terms. In investigating the agency-act ratio, the agency (instruments selected perform the act) is considered in relation to how it determines the actual performance of the act. In regard to the agency and act of equity feminist rhetoric, the agency (the laws and institutions that restrict women's range of opportunity) restrict the degree to which women can be oppressed (the act). Not only are the agents empowered to gain control over women through the law and institutions of society, but they are also restricted by the same agency. The recent Supreme Court ruling regarding RICO (discussed in chapter three) is a prime example of how the agency can affect the act.

The relationship between the agency and agent is consequential to equity feminist rhetoric as well, for this ratio indicates how the agents' actions are, to some extent, a consequence of the agency. Functionally, the agency defines who the agents are. There are many individuals who respond in opposition to the issue of equality, when a provision to ensure equality becomes (or is about to become) law. Before the proposed provisions are considered for incorporation into the system, these individuals will be unconcerned; however, if the probability of equality being enforced by the law arises, these individuals will join the opposition. The opposition to the ERA illustrates this situation. Many women who supported the feminist movement took sides with the opposition at this juncture because they did not want to be assigned full equality with men; they did not want to be drafted into military service, neither did they want to lose their right to retribution in cases of divorce. In this situation, individuals who would not have been agents became just that due to impending change in the agency.

Discussion of the agency-purpose ratio also provides insight into the motives of equity feminist rhetoric. This ratio reveals how the purpose, as detailed by the trends of equity feminist rhetoric, changes with changes in the laws and social institutions that comprise the agency. The purpose of equity feminist rhetoric is one that is, for the most part, void of intent. This implies that as the laws and institutions change, so do people's perceptions of what are the appropriate roles for women in society. As individuals' perceptions of gender roles change, the manner in which they gender-socialize their children changes as well; hence the purpose of the act of oppressing women changes. Possibly, the act changes or even terminates.

Of all the pentadic elements, the *agency* has the most influence on others; it impacts, the act, the agent, and the purpose and inadvertently the scene. This impact has been exemplified through the discussion of the significant pentadic ratios of equity feminist rhetoric. As the primary term, and focus of equity feminist rhetoric, the element of agency can aid in the discovery of motives of the equity feminists for structuring their rhetoric in the manner in which they do. The philosophical position which Burke associates with the agency primary term, is pragmatism. "Pragmatism is defined by Kant as 'the means necessary for attainment of happiness'" (Brock, 1990, p. 189). The pragmatic perspective focuses on changing the agency in order to realize the desired consequences which will assure the happiness of the equity feminists. The rhetoric of the equity feminists is focused on the element of agency; in changing the agency, the remaining pentadic elements are affected. If the agency is changed as desired by equity feminists, the act described by their rhetoric (gendered oppression) may become obsolete. The driving motivation for their rhetoric is achieving equality through reforming the laws and institutions of society. Equity feminists desire action revising the agency; this revision will initiate the advocated changes.

Again, pentadic analysis begins with identifying the terms of the pentad, as the rhetoric of the gender feminists is discussed. The elements of the gender feminist rhetoric can be described as follows:

The scene (North American society, both the public and private spheres)

The agent (supporters of patriarchy)

The act (the subordination of women)

The agency (patriarchy)

The purpose (to keep women as subordinate to men)

Gender feminists define the act in the same manner as the equity feminists; the act takes place within the environmental context of women's lives, and therefore the act is difficult to avoid. After this point, the elements of gender and equity feminist rhetoric begin to diverge. The gender feminists designate the agents as all men. Men are agents because they dominate women in all areas of life, benefit from women's subordination, and support a patriarchal system. The lack of intent to subdue women does not declassify men from being agents, as they are benefactors of a patriarchal system. The rhetoric of the gender feminists designates the act as the subordination of women. Subordination renders women subject or subservient to men (oppression of women is different in that it implies only an unjust use of power by men). The agency by which the agents perform the act is the patriarchy enveloping society, both public and private sectors. In the public sector of society, the patriarchy maintains inequality of women by granting more and better opportunities to men. In the private domain, the institution of traditional marriage and the nuclear family enable men to exert control over women. Patriarchy traps women, forcing them to submit to the power of men in order to survive. The purpose of the act of subordinating women is to maintain the patriarchal society that grants men the right to dominate women. The purpose of the act as asserted by the gender feminists implies that there is an opprobrious intent motivating the agent.

An examination of the significant ratios is the next step in analyzing gender feminist rhetoric. In completing this written analysis, the purpose-act, purpose-scene, and purpose-agent ratios will be explored. These ratios are most useful in acquiring an understanding of the primary element of the pentad, and that is why they were elected for this written analysis. The purpose-act ratio shows the reason for the agent performing the act from the perspective of the

rhetor. The gender feminists assert that the purpose of the act, as performed by the agents, is to maintain women's subordination to men. From the gender feminist perspective, the act is intentional. The act is a response to the agents' fear of loosing power in society; therefore, the act is done with conscious intent.

Because of this cognizant intent, the purpose-agent ratio becomes important to understanding the strategies of gender feminist rhetoric. Discussion of the relationship between the two terms of this ratio suggests how the purpose defines the agent. Agents are all men, as the gender feminists assume all men dominate women; as a result, all men accept the responsibility for committing the act in order to maintain their position in society. Inherent in the purpose-agent relationship is the idea that the societal design intrinsic in the purpose is responsible for making all men agents. The objective of the purpose becomes the goal of the agents. Consequently, all men, whether consciously or unconsciously, have intent to act in ways that subordinate women in order to preserve their dominant roles in society. Additionally, the purpose-agent ratio excludes women from being agents, although many women do not support the ideology of the gender feminists. Since the purpose is to maintain the subordination of women, all women are victims (whether they are aware of their victimage or not). The universal victimage of women, as interpreted in the gender feminist rhetoric, implies that women who do not recognize their plight have been deluded, habituated, or bewildered by the patriarchal culture in which they exist. Finally, the purpose-scene ratio explains how the purpose enables women to be subdued by their environments. Since the purpose is to preserve the subordination of women in society through the patriarchal culture (the agency), women cannot escape the act. It is intrinsic in their culture, and therefore it pervades all areas of their lives.

The *purpose* is the primary pentadic element of the gender feminist rhetoric. The philosophy correlating with this primary element and from which the gender feminist rhetoric proceeds is that of mysticism. By this philosophical position, unification in order to achieve a goal is emphasized; a new reality to be achieved through influence is highlighted. This implies that gender feminist rhetoric is motivated by a perceived need to change the reality of society,

i.e., patriarchy. In focusing their rhetoric on the reasons men subordinate women (purpose of the act), gender feminists strive to create an androgynous society in which gender would not be socially recognized, or perhaps a strictly feminine society apart from the masculine counterpart which currently predominates in the United States.

Although the dramatic stage (scene) set by both types of feminist rhetoric is the same, the drama's players (agents), plot (action), props (agency), and theme (purpose) are dissimilar. The rhetoric of the equity feminists focuses on the agency, asserting that by revising the agency they can achieve equality for women. They attempt to change the agency through their persuasive efforts in order to elicit desired consequences. On the other hand, the rhetorical strategies of the gender feminists stem from their perceived need to revolutionize the hierarchy which the agents are trying to preserve. The locus of their rhetoric is the purpose. This concern creates rhetoric which attempts to unify women in an effort to create an alternative system, void of patriarchy. In this attempt, gender feminists at times forget that different women often have different desires, thereby slighting some individuals in trying to forge an nonpatriarchial society.

Even though both types of feminism appear to have the same desired effects in employing their persuasive efforts, they do not. The rhetoric of the equity feminists works to alter laws and institutions in an existing society in order to gain equality. They have a pragmatic focus. The rhetoric of the gender feminists works to destroy society as it exists, attempting to create a new genderless society. In order to revolutionize the existing system of society, gender feminist rhetoric rejects all laws and institutions which uphold patriarchy. In activating the philosophical perspective of mysticism, gender feminists ignore the concerns of some individuals. Through pentadic analysis of both types of feminist rhetoric, differences between the two outweigh the similarities. The goals of these two rhetorics are completely different. Equity feminists and gender feminists are not relying on different means for achieving the same goals; they are working toward goals that are fundamentally in opposition. Equity feminists accept the foundations of the existing societal system; gender feminists, according to their interpretations, reject these foundations.

Analyses of Pollution-Purification-Redemption Processes

Differences in the goals of the equity and gender feminists and their practiced rhetoric can also be observed through the discussion of the pollution-purification-redemption process as it relates to each. The equity feminists are not satisfied with the roles assigned to them in the hierarchy of society. Dissatisfied, they reject their current status, and attempt to gain a position that is higher in the hierarchy, the position of equality. Equity feminists want to stand alongside men within the hierarchy, instead of having their own positions within the hierarchy beneath those of men. Their efforts represent the quest for perfection in societal gender standards. In rejecting their current position in society, equity feminists experience the guilt that is inherent in hierarchies, and thus enter into the pollution stage of this process. To remain healthy, they must purge themselves of this guilt. In attempting to rid themselves of guilt, the equity feminists enter into purification. Equity feminists are purified through victimage. Purification is achieved when equity feminists transfer their guilt to those individuals who do not support equality for women. These individuals are assigned blame for the undesirable position in society the equity feminists perceive themselves as currently holding. These individuals do share a common societal element with the equity feminists (they must in order to serve as scapegoats), in that they are part of the same scene as the equity feminists. They are part of the hierarchy which is North American society. Once the equity feminists purge themselves of their guilt, they enter into the redemption stage of the process. For an undetermined, but most likely short period of time, they will be free of guilt; they will eventually become burdened with guilt again, for it is impossible to comply with all the rules/regulations that are inherent in hierarchies. This pollution-purification-redemption process is intrinsic in society. It continually repeats itself, for whenever individuals do not comply with the rules/regulations of the hierarchy, they experience guilt and therefore must purge themselves of that guilt.

The gender feminists exist in the same hierarchy as the equity feminists. They too are dissatisfied with the roles regulated to them. Unlike the equity feminists, the gender feminists

reject the hierarchy altogether. They attempt to bypass the hierarchy that typifies the society in which they exist. Gender feminists attempt to create a new hierarchy, not grounded in patriarchy, instead of moving up within the existing hierarchy. In rejecting the hierarchy altogether, gender feminists are rejecting their place in the existing hierarchy and therefore experience guilt. Like the equity feminists, the gender feminists need to cleanse themselves of their guilt. The gender feminists transfer their guilt onto a scapegoat, men--men in the generic sense, all men. Although quite different from the gender feminists, men do share some similarities with gender feminists. They are part of the same hierarchy as the gender feminists, and they are human beings. They have the same basic needs, food, water, clothing, as the gender feminists. These basic areas of consubstantiality contain enough similarities with the gender feminists that men can be used as scapegoats for gender feminist guilt. In purging their guilt, the gender feminists achieve purification; when guilt is purged, they are redeemed, as personal equilibrium is restored.

Through the description of how each type of feminist philosophy (equity or gender) experiences the pollution-purification-redemption process, the innate differences between the two types of feminist rhetoric are once again made apparent. First, the gender feminists are more revolutionary in their rejection of their perceived place in the hierarchy. They reject the system all together, whereas the equity feminists are reformist, dissatisfied with their perceived place within the hierarchy, but not with the hierarchy itself. Additionally, both groups utilize victimage in order to purge their guilt; however, their scapegoats to which they transfer their guilt are different. Gender feminists transfer their guilt to the entire population of men. Some of these scapegoats are at the top of the hierarchy in which gender feminists currently exists, holding the power to make changes within the hierarchy. On the other hand, equity feminists limit the classification of their scapegoats to those individuals who continue to work against the goal of women's equality. Through the application of Burkeian thought to gender and equity feminist rhetoric, many differences between these two types of feminism have been discovered.

In Chapter Five, these differences will be further examined in order to determine their effects on the persuasive efforts of the movement as a whole.

Chapter Five

Review and Conclusions

Discussion of Burkeian Analysis of the Feminist Movement

In this study, the framework of analysis suggested by Kenneth Burke has been implemented to better understand the rhetorical trends of the modern feminist movement. Results of this analysis can not be extended to individuals within the movement, for the movement is a collection of individuals, with different backgrounds, symbol systems, and rhetorical styles. All feminists are not alike, yet they are consubstantial in many ways. These consubstantial elements have been investigated in order to understand the nature and the effects of the persuasive efforts within the feminist movement. As a result of this Burkeian analysis, three aspects of rhetorical trends within the women's movement are now discussed.

First, in the analyses of equity and gender feminist rhetorical trends, the agents as defined by pentadic examination became the scapegoats in the evolving of the pollution-purification-redemption process. Equity feminists designate individuals who resist assuring equal opportunities for women as the agents. These individuals, responsible for committing the act (oppression of women), become the surrogate bearers of equity feminist guilt. Analysis of gender feminist rhetorical trends indicates that the agents performing the act (subordination of women) are men, all men. During the gender feminist purification stage of the pollution-purification-redemption process, gender feminist guilt is transferred on to these agents. Revealed through these analyses is that gender and equity feminists employ victimage in order to purge their guilt, thus these two rhetorical trends are related. Through these analyses, it becomes apparent that feminists, in general, impose their feelings of guilt on those individuals who try to restrict women in their traditionally designated place in the societal hierarchy. If feminists are transferring their guilt to designated agents in this rhetorical drama, are there any repercussions on the effectiveness of their persuasive efforts? According to Burke, only through identification with the persuasive audience can persuasive strategies be successful (1962). In order to answer

the above question, both types of feminist rhetoric need to be considered as a second aspect of feminist rhetorical trends in order to estimate how each group achieves identification with the audience. This requires that the audience of each type of feminist rhetoric be delineated.

The motivation of equity feminist rhetoric has been determined to be the desire to change women's status in the societal hierarchy. In order to achieve this purpose, equity feminists need to transform perceptions of women's role in society. Those individuals who have the direct power to make the desired changes in the societal hierarchy and thereby modify the agency to assure women's rights, constitute the primary audience of equity feminist rhetoric. The individuals at the top of the hierarchical gender structure are those who can bring about the changes desired by equity feminists. Hence, if equity feminists can identify with their audience, in terms of Burke's concept of identification, they may have effective persuasive effects. The agents designated in equity feminist rhetorical trends are individuals who work against equality for women. Equity feminists shift their guilt to these individuals through victimage, making these agents antagonists in this rhetorical drama. In categorizing the agents as antagonists, equity feminists may be designating as antagonists some members part of their primary audience, and thereby solidifying their opposition. However, since not all the hierarchical leaders are classified as antagonists, equity feminists have a chance to enhance or create identification with a portion of their primary audience. If the rhetorical strategies of the equity feminists are able to establish enough consubstaintiality with their audience as a whole, their persuasive efforts to effect change in keeping with their goals may be successful.

Gender feminist rhetoric is motivated by a desire to establish a new societal hierarchy which does not feature patriarchy. In order to achieve this objective, gender feminists must achieve the complete restructuring of the existing societal hierarchy, or sever their connection with it altogether. Those individuals who essentially support the existing societal hierarchy, but perhaps amenable to major modifications, will oppose the efforts of the gender feminists to eradicate or completely restructure the existing system. Additionally, gender feminists classify all men as the agents of their subordination. Since the majority of those individuals who can

support and effect changes within the existing societal hierarchy are men, gender feminists' chances of achieving identification with these individuals is minimal. Burke holds that desired persuasive effects can not be achieved by attacking those who can bring about desired consequences (1962). In designating all men their antagonists (scapegoats/agents), gender feminists, by their persuasive strategies, have greatly diminished their opportunity to procure the changes they advocate. The ramifications of transferring guilt to these agents in their rhetorical drama, include the probability that the attaining of successful persuasive efforts will be diminished to the same degree that the agents are portrayed as antagonists; unyielding confrontation may well result in a stalemate.

The third area of discussion pertains to the divergent, controlling philosophical positions of gender and equity feminists. As stated earlier, equity feminists subscribe to pragmatism, focusing their persuasive efforts on the agency in order to effect desired consequences. Gender feminists subscribe to mysticism, focusing their persuasive efforts on eradicating patriarchy. The goals of these two branches of feminism as implied by their contrasting philosophical perspectives are quite different. Equity feminist goals focus on reform, changing the current system in order to refine an existing system in order to protect equal opportunities for women. Gender feminists work to revolutionize society at its base, through terminating the system of patriarchy that is inherent in it. These goals are markedly different; in basic respects, they directly oppose one another. For example, equity feminists work to improve the institution of marriage. They respect the right of women to choose to be wives and mothers. On the other hand, gender feminists assert that the institutions of marriage and motherhood subject women to the explicit control of men. Gender feminists argue that the institutions of marriage and motherhood should be rejected by women. These distinctly separate goals imply that in many instances, equity and gender feminists are working against each other as they plan and conduct their persuasive campaigns. Countering each other as they interpret objectives of the women's movement, these two groups, with their conflicting emphases, will possibly handicap the efforts of the other.

Conclusions

Though critical analysis of rhetorical trends within the feminist movement, it has been discovered that there are two different, often conflicting, goals within it. One aspect of social movements is that they are amenable to change, both in goals and in scope. The feminist movement is no exception. This movement has experienced growth as well as change; however, at some point in recent history, it became divided. The feminist movement is no longer a single, cohesive movement containing both moderate and radical elements working toward the same goal. Instead, there now exists two movements, each an organized collectivity that proposes material change in premises and practices of governing institutions. Both movements are large enough in scope to attract a large number of supporters, are moral in tone, encounter opposition from the established order (as well as from each other), and persuasive efforts are at the core of both movements.

Because the goals of these movements are fundamentally contradictory, they often conflict, having negative impacts on each other. Often, when one movement makes gains toward the realization of its objectives, the other movement loses ground. For example, if the movement of equity feminist ideology were to succeed in getting legislation passed to guarantee homemakers compensation in cases of divorce, thereby giving women more justification for choosing to stay at home in order to be primary care givers; the movement of the gender feminists loses, since the choice to stay home as a primary care giver is made more attractive, and thus more women may make the choice to continue in this traditional role.

The idea of a unified feminist movement has been intrinsically questioned by through applying Burke's dramatic pentad and the pollution-purification-redemption process to the modern feminist movement. Since the feminist movement is no longer a single cohesive movement with both moderate and radical elements working in different ways toward the same goal, the effects of the twofold rhetoric on the movement as a whole can not be determined, because the movement is not twofold, but two movements. The question of what are the effects

of twofold feminist rhetoric on the movement as a whole, metamorphoses to the questions of what effects these movements have on each other, and what is their situation within the context of society. In subsequent research, the dramatic pentad and the pollution-purification-redemption process can also be used in analyzing these questions. In future research, external pentadic analysis, in contrast to this study's internal analyses, could also used to acquire a better understanding of each movement's role within society, as well as to gain additionally insight into how each of these movements impacts the other.

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